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BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME TWENTY-FOUR

EDITED BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE



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RETURN OF THE TROOPS. 108TH INFANTRY AND 106TH ARTILLERY (FORMER 74TH AND 65TH REGIMENTS) ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN BUFFALO FROM OVERSEAS SERVICE, APRIL 1, 1919.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXIV

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

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PREFACE

THE leading paper in this volume, "The History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation", by Frederick Houghton, will commend itself to students of the history of this region as an exceptionally thorough, comprehensive review of natural conditions, aboriginal occupancy and gradual acquisition by white men, which form the history of this tract of land, now in part included in the City of Buffalo. It is a chapter of local history which has not heretofore been written. Our readers are fortunate in that it has now been prepared by so competent a student as Mr. Houghton.

An unusually prominent place is given in this volume to reports of the proceedings of the Society. The presentation of the Bishop Walker memorial, and other recent events in the history of the Society, we were unable to include in the preceding volume of this series, which was wholly devoted to one historical study—Mr. A. C. Parker's "Life of Gen. Ely S. Parker." The full report of that presentation, with its tributes to the memory of Bishop Walker, and with the accounts of the varied Society activities which follow, are by no means the least important feature of this volume.

New documentary material, bearing on the history of Buffalo, the Lakes and adjacent regions, includes the hitherto unpublished narrative of Gen. Jacob Brown's inspection tour up the Lakes in 1819; the memoir of Capt. Samuel D. Harris, with its account of his service on the Niagara Frontier during the War of 1812; and lesser but

interesting papers printed under the head of "Documents of Early Days."

Judge Woodward's eloquent and scholarly appreciation of the character and career of William F. Sheehan is an historical paper which, with obvious propriety, is included in this volume, which as a whole will, it is hoped, be found not unworthy its place in the series of Publications issued by the Buffalo Historical Society.

It may not be inappropriate to add, that of the twenty-four volumes thus far issued, several are out of print, and cannot now be supplied by the Society. Volumes II, XVI, and XXIII, are especially desired, and the Society will gladly buy them, if offered in good condition.

F. H. S.

HISTORICAL BUILDING,
BUFFALO, DEC., 1920.

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ADDENDA AND ERRATUM

ADDENDA. To the list of Buffalo periodicals, pp. 383-386, may be added the following:

- *The *Alpha News*. 1920. Monthly by Alpha Lodge, No. 611, I. O. O. F. John C. Roth, editor, 16 East Eagle St. 4to. pp. 4.
- *The *Buffalo American*. Feb., 1920. Weekly, by the Buffalo American Publishing Co., 156 Clinton St. Elliott O. Brown, man. ed. and publisher. "A Colored Weekly."
- *The *Elks Bulletin*. Monthly, by Buffalo Lodge 23, B. P. O. E. (Vol. xiii, No. 11, Dec., 1920.)
- *The *Temple Bulletin*. Weekly, by Temple Beth Zion, Louis J. Kopald, Rabbi. (Vol. V., No. 16, Dec. 15, 1920.)
- **North Buffalo News*. 1921. Weekly, G. Calhoun Moore, ed. and pub., 75 E. Eagle St. Continuation of the *Central Park News*.

ERRATUM. Page 386, second line from bottom, for 1917, read 1919.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
BUFFALO CREEK
RESERVATION

BY FREDERICK HOUGHTON, M. S.

THE HISTORY OF THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION

BY FREDERICK HOUGHTON, M. S.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESERVATION.

The innumerable tourists who on summer days travel the excellent road which leads southward from Buffalo to Gowanda may view with delight the prosperous and beautiful farming country through which the road winds. Commodious houses, trim in their well painted orderliness, are flanked by huge and seemingly well filled barns, the sure index of their owner's prosperity. Swarthy, chattering Italians pick berries or peas in interminable rows. Mile long vineyards roll over the slopes of the low bordering hills, and southward the blue hills of Cattaraugus lift above the deepening valleys where cattle feed in deep grass. The whole picture is one of peace and plenty.

Yet without changing the character of the country the entire picture may be altered. Turn here at Lawton, pass the great milk station and the railway, and proceed along the fair country road. A short mile, and the well cared for pasture land ends abruptly at a wire fence. Beyond is swampy, uncultivated underbrush, in a slight clearing of which is a tiny, unpainted, dilapidated shanty. Just beyond is another from the open door of which peep two chubby, brown-faced children. On a slight rise is a well-kept log house with a peach tree in front, and op-

posite is a wide open space bordered by a few straggling log houses all dominated by what looks like an old-fashioned school house. The whole effect is that of the frontier, and it is explained by the fact that this is Indian country, a Seneca village on the Cattaraugus Reservation, the center of the pagan party of the Seneca Nation.

With a few changes this is what would have been seen eighty years ago should visitors have left the main street of the thriving little city of Buffalo and gone but a few miles from the civilization of that ambitious settlement. Riding eastward on an indifferent road, they would have quickly passed beyond the outermost fringe of houses and would have reached the City line. At this point they would leave the road and plunge by a bridle-path into the swampy wilderness of the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The path would have wound casually amongst trees and shrubby clumps of undergrowth, past a few clearings centering about rough and unpainted frame houses or ill-kept log cabins, finally reaching a large building, the tribal council house, set in a wide clearing at the edge of Buffalo Creek. Forging the creek, they would pass numerous clearings and eventually would reach a group of houses set in wide fields and orchards, the village of Tekise-na-da-yont, or as the Buffalo people knew it, the village of Seneca. In the midst they would find a commodious church with a weather-vane surmounting its steeple. They would undoubtedly visit the nearby cemetery to look at the graves of Red Jacket, the White Woman and other celebrities, and would call upon the resident missionary. Beyond would be forest, threaded by paths which linked the meagre clearings.

This anomaly of a wilderness broken by the clearings of a primitive Indian community, yet surrounded by the cleared fields and cultivated lands of white settlers, and jostling a rapidly growing commercial city, was the result of a rapid adjustment then in progress between the

Iroquois Indians and the new and growing United States of America.

At the end of the American Revolution the whole of the country which constitutes the central and western parts of New York was a forest-covered wilderness dominated and claimed by the Six Nations of New York. Eastwardly their lands abutted upon the settlements along the Mohawk River. In the west, Fort Niagara had grown up as a French fort, but for a quarter of a century it had been occupied by English. Before the war the eastern and central portions of this great wilderness had hidden wide fields surrounding numerous Indian villages, but early in the war these had been destroyed by a colonial army, and their inhabitants had been constrained to abandon their homes and to retire westward to the Niagara River. Only part of these refugees had returned to rebuild their flimsy abodes. Most had preferred to make new homes in the vast forest which swept smoothly back from the Niagara. Of these refugees a large group, mainly composed of Senecas, had selected as a likely abode the valley of Buffalo Creek, and here they had established themselves in new settlements. These settlements formed the nucleus about which was to be crystallized the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The soldiers of the colonial army which had invaded and devastated the lands of the Six Nations in 1779 had brought back to the coast colonies marvelous stories of the fertile and altogether delectable lands of central and western New York, and these had so excited the land hunger of the already crowded populations of the eastern colonies that at the close of the Revolution there was a rapid influx into this more western country. Through a series of transfers the Indians sold their lands, wisely reserving, however, sufficient to afford them homes and a livelihood. One of the tracts thus reserved was located about the refugee villages in the valley of Buffalo Creek,

and this tract became the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Here for sixty years lived the main body of the Seneca Nation, amongst them their most prominent personages. Eventually the demand for their land became so insistent that the Senecas sold this reservation and once more removed, this time to settlements already established on the Cattaraugus and Allegheny, and the primitive conditions of their lands on the Buffalo Creek vanished like blown smoke before the inrush of white settlers.

The Buffalo Creek Reservation was a long rectangle of land lying fairly athwart what is now Erie County; one end based on Lake Erie, the other in what is now the eastern boundary of the county. The southern boundary ran straight east from a point at about the present Bay View. The northern boundary was intended to be parallel to this, but circumstances made it advisable to bend this as it approached the lake so that the mouth of the creek might not be in the hands of the Indians. This rectangle contained 83,557 acres of land, the most fertile and most delightful of all the lands of Erie County.

The Buffalo Creek Reservation was in general a flat plain tilted upward to the east. At its western end where it abutted upon the lake, its altitude was 573 feet, but eastwardly it rose gradually to the flat plains about Marilla until it attained a height of 325 feet above Lake Erie. This tilted plain is dissected by Buffalo Creek and by its main branches, Cazenovia Creek and Cayuga Creek. Its southern portion is cut by Smoke's Creek which enters it on its southern edge and continues in it to its mouth.

The topography of the Reservation was partly decided by the rock formations underlying it. These are mainly a long series of soft gray, and more obdurate black, shales, being portions of the lower beds of the Devonian system, interbedded with which are two rather insigni-

nificant beds of limestone. All these dip downward to the south and form a series of low and unimportant escarpments extending across the reservation from northeast to southwest. The valley of Buffalo Creek has been gouged out of the softer shales but where the streams feeding it have crossed the harder black shale there have been formed numerous steep-walled gorges and cliffs which diversify the otherwise flat and uninteresting country. At one or two points, also, the hard, black shale causes cascades which were taken advantage of by the incoming settlers for water power with which to drive the wheels of primitive grist- and saw-mills.

These rock formations have not decided the topography of the Reservation to the extent which might have been possible had they not been subjected to the action of the great glacier which at one time buried this region beneath hundreds of feet of ice. This glacial action, more than the rock formations, decided the general character of the region, its soil, its topography and its charmingly diversified landscape.

At some time, extremely remote as compared with history, yet comparatively recent from the geologist's point of view, all western New York, in common with all the northern part of the United States, was buried under an immensely thick and widely extended sheet of ice, a continental glacier of the type which now mantles Greenland. This ice centered somewhere about Hudson's Bay and because of constantly increasing cold, pressed southward until its front stood approximately at the present Pennsylvania line. Over Erie County the ice stood to a depth of perhaps two thousand feet, and the appearance of the country was that of middle Greenland today. At its southern edge the tops of a few of the Cattaraugus hills stood out above the snow-covered waste, but of our hills and valleys, lakes and rivers,

nothing was visible. They were deeply buried beneath the crushing weight of the huge ice mass.

The tremendous weight of this mass of ice combined with a movement slow but constant, generated an immense erosive power. The bottom of the glacier came into contact with the soil and rocks of the ancient land, and these were torn from their beds, picked up by the ice and pushed or rolled or borne along by the advancing ice. Resistant rocks were scored deeply and polished by the abrasive action of the bottom of the ice, while on its surface rode huge boulders from the far away mountains of northern Canada.

After a long period of cold, the climate so moderated that the glacier melted more rapidly than it gained by precipitation, and slowly it dwindled away, with frequent pauses marking slightly colder seasons. At its receding front the included detritus with all the rock rubbish from all the ledges over which it had moved, dropped slowly down in the melting ice eventually coming to rest as a deep mantle over the old soil. Hills were covered, valleys were buried, river courses choked and obliterated. From the melting glacier sprang great rivers which instead of following the old and well-established drainage systems of the ancient land, reached the ocean by new and hitherto unknown channels. The ice lay across the natural slope of the land, and between the constantly receding ice wall and the emerging high lands to the southward of it great lakes formed and persisted for unnoted centuries. Water backed up into every ancient river valley forming long narrow lakes of the type now persisting in central New York. Many of the surface features of the Buffalo Creek Reservation are the result of this deposit of detritus, and of its consequent distribution by the icy waters of the melting glacier. All the rock beds are buried deeply by this detritus which forms

the soil of our region. Imbedded in this soil are granite boulders which rode down upon the surface of the ice from their parent ledges in far away Canada. Across the southeastern edge of the Reservation lies a band of smoothly rolling knolls, a moraine marking the location of the front of the glacier at some pause in its recession. At several places there are long low clay hills, masses of compact blue clay and boulders, evidently ground moraines laid down under the glacier.

Originally the whole surface of the Reservation was covered by dense forest. Bordering the lake were wide, low swamps covered then as now by a dense growth of flags and swamp grass. Bordering this and encroaching upon the less swampy portions grew a wide belt of black ash. The banks of the creeks and the wide flats bordering them were thickly set with basswoods, the abundance of which along Buffalo Creek caused the Indians to name it Dyosowa, the place of basswood trees. The surface of the low plains above the creek flat was diversified by low, sandy knolls and shallow, swampy depressions. Here grew heavy stands of beech, maple, hickory and walnut, all dominated by the sombre pyramids of giant hemlock and pine. This primeval forest cover, even in the days of the Reservation, was rapidly being depleted, for the uplands were being denuded to supply the demand for building material for the growing city of Buffalo, while the bottoms were being cleared by Indian farmers to provide cultivated fields. Many of these clearings were soon abandoned and allowed to grow up to underbrush, yet the effect was that of deforestation. On both uplands and bottoms there were originally frequent natural clearings, grassy glades surrounded by the forest as by a wall.

Along the creeks, like beads upon a necklace, were strung the humble and, frequently, primitive abodes of

the Indians. Most of these were solitary, set without order in locations which met the needs or convenience of their builders. Some of these homes were built of logs, a few still perhaps of bark after the ancient fashion, yet many were well constructed of sawn lumber identical in general appearance and internal convenience with the homes of the white people near them. Each house was set in its clearing, which according to its owner's thrift or ability, was large or small, well cultivated or neglected. In the cleared fields grew corn, which with abundant squashes and beans, formed the staple food of the people. Apple trees abounded, some, probably, scattered and wild, many however, set in well cared-for orchards.

In a few places the cabins with their clearings were set so closely together that the groups deserved the title of villages. In ancient fashion these groups had formed about some prominent personage as a nucleus. The village best known was that in which lived Red Jacket. In the early days this had been the seat of the Pagan party, but latterly missionaries had established themselves there, and had built a church, whose bell determined the Indian name for the village, *Te-kise-na-do-yont*, the place of the bell.

Of the inhabitants of these primitive abodes most were Senecas. Most of these were refugees and their descendants, driven from their long-established homes in the Genesee country by the avenging colonials. A few were probably descendants of families who had located here in far earlier times, colonists from the more eastern villages.

With these, but in separate groups, were two cognate nations, the Onondagas and Cayugas. In the exodus many of these had followed the Mohawks under their great leader, Joseph Brant, to the Grand River in Canada. Some however had thrown in their lot with the

Senecas and had domiciled themselves along Buffalo Creek. A few also of alien blood were to be found, Stock-bridges from Massachusetts, a few Delawares and a very few whites who for some reason had come to live amongst the Indians.

Cutting through the wilderness of woods were numerous paths, which connected the scattered cabins, and opened communication with other far-away communities. Some of these were transient and dim, paths only between fields and homes. Others were deeply marked trails, trodden and scored by generations of soft-shod aboriginal wayfarers.

These permanent trails led along the banks of all the water courses and eventually converged at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, where they joined the great main travelled way which followed the shore of Lake Erie to the west and continued along the banks of the Niagara to Lake Ontario. Another main path led off to the northeastward to the Tonawanda villages, eventually reaching another main trail at the bend of the Tonawanda Creek where now is Batavia. Just before reaching Batavia it joined another main road which led to Lewiston and Fort Niagara. There seems to have also been a main trail directly to the east eventually reaching the villages on the upper Genesee.

Where these paths crossed streams, they did so at shallow places, where fording was safe and practicable. One of these at the Seneca Council House was so deep that in high water it was unfordable, and a canoe must be used to cross. At the Onondaga Council House on Cazenovia Creek, the water was hardly ankle-deep.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BUFFALO CREEK
RESERVATION.

To one interested in the peoples of past and gone times and their culture, the Buffalo Creek Valley offers in its archaeology a very interesting and varied field. All over its surface are to be found vestiges of an ancient and pre-historic people. Every sandy knoll, every creek terrace, will yield to the searcher its crude points of chert or its bits of pottery, showing that here abode some pre-historic Stone Age savage. While, as will be told later, some of these vestiges may be traced and attributed definitely to some distinct peoples, the identity of the users of many of them can never be known.

Although there are scattered over the surface of the reservation a vast number of artifacts of different kinds, and though any patient search over nearly any field on the reservation will yield a few flint points, there are certain restricted areas which yield, and have yielded for years, hundreds and even thousands of weapons, tools and utensils made and left there by the pre-historic occupants of the region. These restricted areas are further marked in some few cases by very deep deposits of a peculiar black, carbonaceous, ashy earth, and a few areas are still known to have been surrounded by earthen walls. These areas mark the site of large communities, all of which are well known locally as "Indian forts" or "Indian villages" and most have been searched by collectors for nearly a century. A few have been studied intensively for the purpose of gathering some information about their inhabitants. There are, besides these, cer-

tain small areas upon which artifacts are fairly abundant, which may be called definitely the camping sites of wandering bands of people.

Of the restricted areas marked by the evidences of a large occupancy for many years, there are seven on the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The characteristics of these are all in the main identical excepting that some of them show the unmistakable evidence of contact with Europeans, whereas others show no evidence that the people who had once inhabited them had ever met these overseas foreigners. They are all marked by beds of black, ashly earth, the remains of what, in the time of their origin, would have been the refuse or garbage heaps of the primitive village. These beds in all cases are strewn promiscuously over the face of what was the village site, though in some few cases where the site was circumscribed partly by ravines, the refuse streams down the sides of the ravine and into the bottom of the stream-bed below. In some cases these black beds seem to mark the position of the cabins of the village.

This accumulation was composed of all the animal refuse of the village combined with the ashes of its fires. Into it was swept or thrown practically every article that was in use in the village, either in a broken condition and thrown away as useless, or lost by accident, and it is very astonishing to note the number of articles which these deposits yield. The surface of a refuse heap when under cultivation, shows on the surface of the site as a wide, black area plainly visible in plowed ground, especially after a rain, and more especially marked by the abundance of articles found on them. Of these articles, animal bones are probably at present most abundant. With these are chert points of various kinds, stone axes and chisels, potsherds and pipes in great variety, awls and fishhooks made of bone, chisels, gouges and hoes

made of antler, and occasional ornaments of a somewhat limited variety. Many of these heaps have a superficial area of two hundred to a thousand square feet and a depth of two to four feet, and show evidence of the occupancy of this particular site for a relatively long period by a relatively large population; for in order to produce a mass of carbonaceous earth three feet thick and thirty feet square, there must have been originally laid down there a mass of refuse and garbage of much greater dimensions and this only could have been produced by a great number of people for a brief period or a smaller number of people for a long time.

Connected with these sites are the graves of the people who lived there. Not all the cemeteries of villages on the Buffalo Creek Reservation are yet known. Of those which are known, some of the graves are to be found directly within the area occupied by the houses of the village; in other villages they are some distance away, outside the palisades which at one time surrounded them.

The situation of these village sites is somewhat varied. At the western end of the Reservation, they are all on the low terraces above Buffalo or Cazenovia Creek. At the eastern end of the Reservation, in the town of Elma, they are uniformly so placed as to take advantage of strong, defensive positions, being in every case partially or very nearly surrounded by ravines or by steep terrace banks. In this latter case, the primary idea seems to have been ease of defense in conjunction with which were nearness to water and the presence of fertile land. In the former case, where the country was flatter and less adapted to natural defense, the primary idea seems to be only nearness to water and fertile fields. In every case, there was a disposition to retire inland from the lake and the river; and so far as is known, there was no Indian

village of any size anywhere near the main thoroughfare furnished by the lake and the Niagara.

Known as they have been ever since the reservation was opened up to white settlement, these sites have been the subject of a great deal of archaeologic study. Some of the desultory collectors of Indian relics, who wandered over their surface after every rain or every cultivation, gleaned from the fields a great number of artifacts of Indian origin. There has been, however, on all the sites some detailed and systematic study, and it is from this study that we have gained the little that we know about them.

One site, that on Buffam Street, now the Seneca Indian Park, was rather carefully studied by the writer for the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, one large and deep refuse heap being carefully excavated and the graves in its cemetery opened up. Similar work was also done on a site on the Eaton Farm in West Seneca and on two other sites at Elma. A site at the foot of Fenton Street in Buffalo was practically destroyed by excavation while grading a street and very few data were ever recovered as a result. One other site at Elma is still practically unexplored.

Of the seven pre-historic village sites known to exist in the Buffalo Creek Valley two show evidences that the inhabitants had had intercourse with Europeans. One of these is at the foot of Fenton Street in Buffalo, the other on the Hart Farm in West Seneca. On the surface of these sites, and in their graves, there have been found articles of European origin, brass kettles, iron axes, glass beads and mirrors, and various other articles such as constituted the stock in trade of early traders. All of these are of a type which are abundant on the sites of the great Seneca villages of Canagora and Totiakton of 1687, and they fairly represent the articles brought into

the country by the English and Dutch traders of the late 17th century. Mingled with these are abundant artifacts of primitive Indian manufacture, indicating that these sites were inhabited at a time early enough to make the manufacture and use of these ancient types still necessary.

A careful study of the remaining five sites has shown no evidence that the inhabitants had ever had intercourse with Europeans, and so they may be safely ascribed to a pre-European time. Of these pre-historic and Stone Age villages, that at Seneca Indian Park on Buffam Street, Buffalo, has been so carefully studied that a description of its archaeology will serve for the rest.

The site now known as Seneca Indian Park was formerly known locally as the "Old Indian Burying Ground". During the Seneca occupation of the Reservation the site of the ancient pre-historic village was used by them as a cemetery and in it most of their prominent people were buried. In 1909 it was bought by Mr. John D. Larkin and deeded as a gift from himself and Mrs. Larkin to the City of Buffalo to be used as a park. It occupies a sandy terrace which conceals from view an outcrop of Stafford limestone.

The area of the ancient village embraced the present Seneca Indian Park and extends northward beyond it. The entire area when first known was surrounded by an earthen wall. This was surveyed and described by Mr. E. G. Squier in 1849.

The surface of the site was originally blackened by numerous large and deep refuse beds, most of which have been scattered and partly obliterated by continued cultivation. That portion which was set apart by the Senecas for a cemetery has never been cultivated and in it there are still a few undisturbed refuse heaps. A large heap in this portion of the site was carefully excavated

by the writer and a large and very complete collection of artifacts was acquired. These are now on exhibition in the museum of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences and give not only an intimate knowledge of the life of these pre-historic villagers, but serve as a type of articles found on these ancient sites.

The refuse heap lay on the inclined edge of a slight rise which runs across the entire site. Superficially it was approximately thirty feet long and thirty feet wide in the shape of an irregular ellipse. In cross-section it was lenticular, thickest on the median line where it attained a depth of almost four feet. From this it thinned out in all directions until its edges merged indefinitely with the original mold of the site.

This mass of earth was composed of layers and lenses of almost pure gray ashes alternating or merged with a peculiar black, greasy, carbonaceous earth. Below these layers was the mold of the original surface and scattered through them, embedded in both ashes and black earth, were numerous charred organic remains, charcoal, corn, beans and nuts, with bones of animals and human artifacts in great number and variety.

Of vegetable remains preserved by charring, corn was abundant and its large size and great quantity gave sufficient evidence of the agricultural skill of the villagers. Beans and squash seeds attested their dependence to some extent upon the "Three Great Ones." With these were nuts and wild fruits, acorns, hickorynuts and walnuts, and seeds of various berries.

Bones of animals were abundant. Literally bushels of these were intermingled with the refuse, earth and ashes, representing every animal used for food in the village. Bones of deer and bear were most numerous. Elk was represented together with wolf, dog and fox, wild-cat, raccoon, squirrel and rabbit. Bones of fishes of several

species; of frogs and turtles; and the shells of fresh water mussels were abundant enough to show that the villagers derived much of their food from the nearby creeks and lake.

How the village hunters secured their animal food was shown by numerous implements. Of these by far the most abundant were arrow-points, of which over a hundred were found. These were all made of local chert, and all were tiny, keen, well-made triangles, of the type which is characteristic of all Iroquoian peoples. Not one point large enough to be considered a spear-or lance-head was found in the heap, nor one of the notched or tanged type. A few fishhooks neatly carved from flat bones showed at least one way of securing fishes, and a few large flat blades made of antler showed evidence that they had been used as hoes or spades.

Nearly as abundant as bones were potsherds, representing dozens of clay kettles of many different sizes. Some were fragments of vessels nearly as large as a bushel basket, others no larger than a small cup. Most were made of clay from local beds, tempered with silica in the form of powdered chert or granite. A few were made of different clay tempered with pulverized clam-shells. All were of the round bottomed type, well made, usually beautifully molded and frequently decorated with a band of lines impressed in the wet clay before burning. The decorative motive was usually, nearly always, the repeated triangle filled in with parallel lines, characteristic of Iroquoian pottery. Charred food still adhered to many fragments.

Implements used in manufacturing other articles were rather abundant. Most numerous were awls. These were beautifully fashioned of bone, and ranged in size from one the size of a fine needle to one nine inches long. These were used in sewing. A few knife-blades

and scraper-blades made of chert showed how pelts were dressed and cut in making clothing. There were numerous cylinders carved of antler, tools for use in chipping points of chert.

There were comparatively few evidences of the amusements of the villagers. Two small flattened spheroids made of antler resemble the peach stones still used amongst the Senecas for gambling, and these were probably so used. Pipes were abundant. All were fashioned from clay, in the shapes common to the Iroquoian peoples. Personal adornments were few and crude. There were a few teeth and bones, perforated for suspension, which were doubtless worn as trophies. A few rude beads made of fresh-water mussel-shell were the only other ornaments.

On the crest of a sandy knoll a few hundred feet north-east of the area occupied by the village, was their cemetery. The graves had been hollowed out in the sand to a depth of two feet or more. The bodies were nearly all in the flexed position, typical of Indian burials, knees drawn up to the body, hands before the face. Most bodies lay on their sides without any special orientation. Two burials were of the type known as "bundle burials." In these the bones had been disarticulated, and tied in a bundle, the long bones parallel, the skull and pelvis at each end, a burial common amongst the Iroquoian peoples. Contrary to usual belief almost nothing had been buried with these bodies. Two small clay vessels, evidently originally filled with food, were found in two graves. This absence of articles in graves is typical of graves of Stone Age Iroquois, for the custom of burying with the dead their arms or ornaments seems to have been almost unknown amongst all the Iroquoian nations until after the coming of the Europeans. A few bones showed signs of sickness and accident, but none of death from wounds.

The archaeology of the site shows it to have been inhabited by a relatively large sedentary community, who lived peaceably on the products derived from their fields of corn, beans and squashes, and from the forests about them, from the waters of the near-by streams and lakes, and from the wild animal life which filled the surrounding wastes. They had no intercourse with Europeans. Their hunters were armed with flint-tipped arrows. The women dismembered the kill with chert knives, scraped the hides with chert scrapers, made clothing therefrom with bone awl and sinew thread, and adorned it with rude ornaments.

Besides this site at Seneca Indian Park, four other sites are to be attributed to similar Stone Age Iroquoian communities, one in West Seneca, not far east of the Buffalo City Line, the other three centering about the hamlet of East Elma. The culture of all these, as shown by their archaeology, is identical with that at Seneca Indian Park. The site in West Seneca, on a shale bluff on the northern bank of Cazenovia Creek, is on land owned by Mr. Schaub and Mr. Eaton. Its refuse heaps are deep and numerous and their contents are identical in every detail with those found in the refuse at Seneca Park. Besides these abundant artifacts derived from the refuse, the surface of this site yields numerous notched points indicative of an occupation by some other, and non-Iroquoian, people. The sites at East Elma are on the flat tops of terraces which here border the eastern side of the valley of Buffalo Creek. All are placed in angles formed where deep ravines debouch into the valley. On all there is deep refuse earth, most of which streams down the steep ravine walls. All are of pure Iroquoian culture, and despite the presence of a very few European articles of a late type attributed to the Senecas who had villages here, all are of a pre-European period.

In addition to these seven pre-historic village sites on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, there are three others just beyond its borders. Of these, one on the farm of Mr. Crookes at South Wales resembles in every detail that at Fenton Street, yielding from its refuse and graves the usual trade articles of the 17th century. It is an undefended site. Of the remaining two, both are post-European, yielding trade articles and abundant primitive artifacts of Iroquoian type with marked Neuter characteristics. These however do not resemble the artifacts from the other post-European villages, but have characteristics of their own. One site is in an angle made where a deep ravine enters the steep-walled gorge of Smoke's Creek in East Hamburg. The remaining site is three miles south of this at Orchard Park, on Smoke's Creek. It seems to be an earlier site of the preceding village. Nearly all its artifacts are of Stone Age, Iroquoian type, yet a few European articles have been found in its graves.

Of all the remains upon the Buffalo Creek Reservation the most conspicuous were the embankments, the walls of Indian forts. These were made of earth, ranging in height from a foot to four feet, and enclosing areas of various sizes and shapes. When the first white settlers began to clear their lands, they found numerous walls concealed by the undergrowth of the forest, but when this was removed the embankments stood out in bold relief upon the surface. Continued cultivation soon reduced these walls to the level of the surrounding fields, and now no embankment remains within the area comprised in the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Fortunately, before they were entirely destroyed, some, possibly all, were surveyed and described by Mr. E. G. Squier in 1849, and some were mentioned or described by others. The appearance and location of most are still remembered by residents of the localities in which they formerly existed.

A few still exist not far from the reservation, two being especially well preserved, one at Shelby and one at Oakfield, and there are numerous well-preserved embankments at various places in the Genesee Valley, and crowning hills in Cattaraugus and Chatauqua counties.

Of the purpose of these embankments there can be no doubt. They are the bases of walls which surrounded and defended villages or camps. In nearly every case the soil of the enclosed area is strewn with the debris resulting from a prolonged occupancy. The defences would have been a palisade of logs or poles whose bases would have been sunk in the earth and which would have been strengthened by further heaping up earth about their bases. This earth was obtained by digging it from a ditch bordering the wall on the outside. The heap of earth thus produced would follow the line of the palisade and when through time or accident this was decayed or destroyed the heap of earth remained as a low wall.

Excavations on certain of these embankments have discovered the holes in which stood the logs of the palisade. These are now filled with mold but some when cleaned out have so far retained the shape of the base of the log that casts made from them as molds preserved the exact shape and details of the original log.

The use of palisades as defences was common to all Iroquoian nations and probably to all the sedentary Indians of the eastern United States. Many have been visited and described by Europeans while in use. A late example surrounded the Seneca village of Ganagaro when it was visited by LaSalle in 1669, and was described by his journalist, Father Galinée, as being "a lot of cabins surrounded with palisades of poles, 12 or 13 feet high, fastened together at the top and planted in the ground, with great piles of wood the height of a man behind these palisades."

Besides the sites of villages where, from a very limited area, hundreds or even thousands of Indian artifacts may be gathered, there are certain areas where artifacts are fairly numerous. To be sure, arrow and spear points are to be found scattered promiscuously over the fields of nearly the entire area embraced in the Buffalo Creek Reservation, but in certain areas these are more numerous. A small area on a creek terrace may yield dozens of points and possibly an axe or a polished slate ornament; or a sandy knoll in a field may yield a handful of flint chips and broken points. Yet aside from these evidences of human activity, there are none of the refuse and ash-heaps or cemeteries which are so characteristic of great village sites, and the artifacts which are found on these small areas are radically different from those of the villages.

Numerous examples of these small sites occur everywhere on the reservations, but so similar are they that a detailed description of one will suffice for all.

Just south of the long east and west morainic hill which carries the Ridge Road in Lackawanna, is a tiny, unnamed brook, a tributary of Smoke's Creek. On a sandy knoll on the bank of this brook, is a site which is typical of these small camp sites. After any plowing, a walk across the knoll will reveal a few points, all of the large notched type, and occasionally with these are found slate gorgets and stone hatchets. Flint chips are abundant, showing that there at some time people had made arrow points of chert. One piece of pottery gives a rather definite clue to the people who once lived here. It is a large piece, thick, heavy, coarse-grained and evidently broken from a vessel of large size. Its surface is covered with cord markings of a type which is well known in the country to the south occupied by the Algonkian tribes of the Delaware stock. Beyond these few articles

there is nothing to mark this as the abiding-place of people. No graves have been found, there are no burned areas suggesting ash beds, and there is no evidence of any refuse.

It is extremely difficult to attribute a site of this kind definitely to any nation of Indians now known to us. That they were pre-historic Stone Age people there is, of course, no doubt. None of these areas yields any objects which show the least influence by Europeans. That they are not of the Iroquoian stock is just as sure, for the points found on the sites are of a type absolutely different from those found on the areas marked by the refuse heaps of the great villages originating with Iroquoian people. That they were not abiding places of any large number of sedentary people for any length of time is certain, for any sedentary community established in one place for any length of time would leave indubitable marks of their occupancy in the shape of refuse and ashes, the accumulations of their cooking and of their fires.

Of these small sites it can be definitely said that they were the abiding places for a short time of small bands of pre-historic non-Iroquoian people. That these people were of Algonkian stock is almost certain, because the articles found are identical in every way with those found in indubitable Algonkian sites in Pennsylvania; and that these Algonkian people were wanderers from the south, seems probable.

In all probability these small sites marked the favorite camp-grounds for wandering bands of some Algonkian people who drifted about the country from one place to another searching out hunting grounds, fishing stations, or productive berry patches or sugar groves. They would be in all ways identical, excepting in mere primitiveness, with the Ojibways of today, who wander

about the shores of Georgian Bay and the great wilderness south of Hudson Bay, hunting, trapping, fishing, blue-berry picking, establishing their frail, bark-covered conical wigwams for a time and then moving on to some other point as their fancy leads them.

But if this be true for these, who were the primitive folk, living out their days in the large villages hidden away in the forests which shadowed Buffalo Creek, and why were they thus immured in these forests?

The answer can be found only in their archaeology, when used to verify the meager information gleaned and noted by Jesuit missionaries in far-away Huronia. No historian wrote their simple annals. No trader, even, drew up his laden canoe at their gates and held aloft his gaudy beads or kettle of shining brass for their admiring inspection. Not even a black-robed priest or hardy far-faring explorer thrust aside the skin curtains of their smoky cabins.

Basing opinions upon the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries of the various nations inhabiting the Niagara Frontier, we might attribute the occupancy of these villages to some one or all of four nations, namely, the Neuters, the Wenroes, the Eries or the Senecas. An intensive study of the archaeology of these four nations and a determination of their characteristics have enabled the writer to determine with some degree of precision the occupants of these ancient villages.

There has been a tendency to ascribe these remains to the Neuter Nation, basing this upon the well-known history of the nation. As a matter of fact, no site on the Buffalo Creek Reservation can be attributed to these people.

When Champlain visited the Huron nation in 1615, he made every effort to acquire information about the nations which lay near the Huron country. For this in-

formation he was obliged to rely upon his Huron hosts and it was from these that he, first of any European, received knowledge of the nation which he named the Neutral nation.

The real name of this nation is unknown. Champlain seems to have been unable to get it from the Hurons and gave to them merely the descriptive appellation, the "Nation Neutre," because he learned that in the incessant warfare which was then going on between the Hurons and the Iroquois Confederacy, this "Neutre Nation" took no part and not only maintained neutrality itself, but enforced neutrality between parties of the warring nations which met in its villages. The name was noted on maps based upon Champlain's explorations; and when the French missionaries began their work amongst the Hurons, they continued to use the name. The Hurons called these people Attiwandarons, another descriptive term meaning only "they speak differently" or "their speech is twisted," applied because although they spoke a dialect of the Iroquoian tongue and could readily be understood by either Hurons or Iroquois, enough difference in their speech existed to mark them as strangers. The same term could have been applied by Senecas to the Hurons or by Onondagas to the Andastes. On several maps they appear as Atiraguenrates or Atiragenriga, which seem to be mere variations of the term Attiwandarons.

When the Neutral Nations first became known to Europeans, they lived in that portion of Ontario limited on the west by the Detroit River, and on the south by Lake Erie. Eastwardly their lands crossed the Niagara and abutted upon those of an allied nation, the Wenroes. On the north they were hemmed in partly by Lake Ontario, though beyond its western end their lands reached northwardly to some unknown boundary which separated them

from the Hurons and Tionontatis, both kindred nations.

The archaeology of this peninsula shows plainly that the Neuters when they first met Europeans were migrating rather slowly from west to east. All the numerous village sites west of the Grand River are of the pre-historic time, but nearly all east of that river show evidences in increasing abundance that their inhabitants had come into contact with Europeans.

The Neuters were numerous and sedentary although warlike. They numbered 12,000, living in 28 towns, when the first European visitor, Father Dallion, came amongst them. They lived in long communal houses made of bark. Surrounding their villages were fields of corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers from the seeds of which they made oil, and tobacco, which they sold to other less favored nations.

For a generation after Champlain's time the history of the Neutral Nation was well-known to the French missionaries, and these made frequent mention of them. The first European to pass through this country was undoubtedly Etienne Brulé, an employe of Samuel Champlain. In 1615 he was sent by Champlain with some Huron guides to enlist the aid of an allied nation, the Carantouans, who had their abodes on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River. To reach them from Huronia he must pass through the Canadian peninsula, the country of the Neuters, but in his brief account to Champlain of his adventures he did not mention this nation.

Not for ten years thereafter was their country visited by a European. In 1625 Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Recollect stationed in the new Huron mission, was assigned the task of visiting the Neuters and preparing the way for missionary effort. He spent nine months amongst them and seems to have approached the Niagara River. He wrote a very interesting account of the Neu-

ters in a letter written at Tonachin in Huronia to a friend in France.¹

Nothing further is recorded of them until 1638 when a war party brought in a great number of captives as a result of a raid against the Mascoutins. It seems possible that an Iroquoian site at the junction of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers may be ascribed to this or similar raids by the Neuters.

The following year, 1639, the Neuter villagers saw a weary procession of refugees, Wenroes, of an allied nation, as they plodded along the well-worn paths that led to the Huron country. These Wenroes were kin to the Neuters and had at one time been confederated with them. For some time previous to 1639 they had been harassed by war-parties of the Iroquois, probably the Senecas, and in that year they had finally abandoned their villages and fields and were passing through the Neuter country on their way to the Hurons, who had offered them sanctuary.

In 1640 the Neuter Nation was decided upon by the French missionaries in Huronia as a field of religious labor and two Jesuits, Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot, were assigned the task of carrying the cross thither. Their task was especially difficult, for the Hurons who for years had acted as middlemen in a brisk and profitable trade in French goods with the Neuters, were averse to any French action which might open up direct intercourse between the French and the Neuter market to their own loss. Accordingly the priests were preceded by propaganda artfully disseminated by the Hurons, with the purpose of antagonizing the Neuters and nullifying any efforts made by the priests.

In consequence of the Huron slanders, the Neuters received the priests as enemies, denied them food and shel-

¹ Le Clercq, *Establishment of the Faith in New France*, I, 263.

ter and repeatedly threatened them with death. They finally allowed them, however, to visit a few villages where they were treated with the same distrustful, suspicious, sullen hostility. Eventually they were taken in by a Neuter woman who treated them kindly and endeavored to aid them in a study of the Neuter tongue, yet so intractable were the Neuters that the next spring the two priests abandoned the field and returned with the news of their lamentable failure to their brethren in Huronia.

During the years 1648 and 1649 the long war which for generations had been waged between the Hurons and their kindred, the Iroquois Confederacy of the Five Nations of New York, culminated in a series of raids into the Huron country by the full force of the Confederacy. So fierce and unexpected was the onslaught that the downfall of the Hurons was accomplished, and the remnants of the nation either surrendered to the Iroquois to be by these fierce clansmen transplanted to their New York villages, or fled into the wintry wastes of the east shore of Georgian Bay, there to be harried and annihilated by their terrible foes. During these troublous years the Neuters had contrived to maintain a strict neutrality between the two enemy nations.

The reasons for this neutrality, and how it was possible for the nation to maintain it, are problematical. When the Iroquois Confederacy was formed there is no doubt that the Neuters were a party to it. At least one of the personages, who, with Hiawatha and Dekanawideh, were most instrumental in promulgating the "Great Peace," the doctrine basic to the Confederacy, was the "Peace Queen" or "Peace Mother." She is mentioned repeatedly in the accounts of the formation of the League. There seems no reason to doubt tradition that this Peace

Woman was a Neuter. Yet the Neuters did not join the League, nor were they mentioned in connection with it.

The reason why they were able to maintain neutrality seems to lie in the strength of the nation. Numerically they seem to have been the equals at least of the Hurons and to have exceeded the Iroquois, for in 1641 the Jesuits computed their population at 4,000 warriors, and this superiority may have secured for the nation a balance of power between the Hurons and Iroquois. This seems probable, for no sooner had the Iroquois destroyed the Hurons than they seem to have been freed to attack the Neuters.

Once settled upon by the Iroquois, the destruction of the Neuters went forward with startling and dramatic rapidity. The ostensible reason for an attack was a happening considered by the Senecas to be a breach of neutrality. In 1646 a Seneca war party had operated against the Tionontatis, who inhabited the region northwest of the Neuters. A Seneca warrior was detached from this party by a band of Hurons, who pursued him into the Neutral country. He sought sanctuary in the Neuter village of Aondirronon, but before he was able to enter it he was killed by his pursuers. Neither Hurons nor Neuters considered this a breach of neutrality, inasmuch as neutrality was enforced only in the cabins of the Neuters. The Senecas, however, determined to avenge the death of their clansmen.

The next year a large party, mainly Senecas and Onondagas, set out for the Huron country to avenge the death of a prominent Onondaga chief who was a hostage amongst the Hurons. Unfortunately for their designs, the party met the chief returning and learned that the rumors of his death were unfounded. The Senecas of the party then decided to punish Aondirronon, and proceeded to the unsuspecting town. Arriving there the party

was entertained in the usual Indian fashion, but in the midst of the entertainment the Senecas treacherously rose against their hosts and massacred many of them. Many more they drove away captive to their villages in New York.

Of the events immediately succeeding this treacherous act we know nothing. Seemingly peace was maintained through diplomacy for no hostilities are known to have taken place for some time, and the first intimation of war was reported by the missionaries in 1649, two years later.

Of the events of the war that followed we know little. The Jesuits, the usual news gatherers, had been forced to leave the Huron country and so were in no position to learn the details but those at the headquarters at Quebec learned in 1651 from Iroquois sources that in the fall of 1650 a party of 1500 Iroquois had destroyed a Neuter village, but that this party, having lost 200 of its warriors, had returned to their homes. Another party of 600 had at once left to avenge their loss. This party seems to have been successful, for the Jesuits reported late in 1651 that two towns had been taken with great slaughter, and that the Neutrals had abandoned their other villages and had scattered to avoid annihilation. Yet the following year these Neuters had received the aid of the Andastes and were enabled to invade the country of the Senecas and so terrorize them that the Seneca women fled for refuge to the Cayugas. The advantages of the Neuter-Andaste alliance were lost when the Mohawks were persuaded to make war upon the Andastes, thus to leave the Senecas free against the Neuters.

As a consequence of this war the Neuters abandoned their country and fled across the Detroit River, and in 1653 they joined the remnants of the Hurons and Tionontatis at Skenchio, on the shore of Lake Huron.

Thus in four years the powerful Neuter nation became "a nation destroyed," its corn fields given over to wilderness growth, its populous villages burned, its people driven by fear into the remoter wildernesses. Yet not all of these perished. Many were taken to the home villages of the Iroquois where their blood soon mingled with that of their conquerors. The others seem to have joined the Huron fugitives and to have re-appeared a century later as the powerful Wyandottes.

It has been the quite general opinion of historians and archaeologists that to the Neuters must be attributed the village sites in the Buffalo Creek Valley. This is based partly upon the definite statement made by Father Lalle-mant, that "there are three of four [villages] beyond [the river] ranging from east to west towards the nation of the Cat or Eriechronons." Tradition seems to point to the site at Seneca Indian Park as one of the Neuter villages destroyed by the Senecas; but as a matter of fact, a study of the village sites of western New York and especially those in the valley of Buffalo Creek established definitely three facts. First, none of the sites in the Buffalo Creek Valley can be attributed to the Neuter Nation. Second, there is one site near the valley which can only be ascribed to the Neuters. Third, there is no evidence in or near the valley of any battle.

To establish these facts, it has been necessary to make a detailed and intensive study of the archaeology of village sites which are of undoubted Neutral origin, from which to obtain some standards for comparison. The village sites selected for this work have been the post-European group at Brantford, Ontario; the post-European group at Waterdown, Ontario; a site at Saint David's of post-European time, and several pre-European sites on the Grand river, and in the town of Bertie. A careful study of the artifacts derived from these sites

elicited a number of facts regarding the culture which they show.

First, in general character the culture of the Neuters, as shown by their archaeology, was identical with that of the New York Iroquois and all other nations of Iroquoian family. They used almost exclusively the small, triangular arrow-points, for almost never are there points of notched or stemmed pattern found in undoubted Neuter refuse or graves. They made fine clay pottery which they decorated with the triangular or chevron type of ornament common to all of the northern Iroquoian nations. They made excellent clay pipes which, in shape and form, were identical with those of other members of the Iroquois family. They used wood, bark, bone and antler abundantly for their tools and utensils. They were sedentary people depending upon their farms rather than hunting for a livelihood and this is evidenced by the deep refuse beds and ash beds so characteristic of all of the Iroquois nations.

Second, certain differences occur between their culture and that of the other Iroquoian nations, which distinguish this as Neutral rather than Seneca or Erie. Like the other nations they used shell as material in making beads, pendants and similar adornments. But, unlike the others, they used large quantities of the shell of *Strombus*, the great conch-shell, which they imported from the Gulf of Mexico. Most Neutral sites will yield either articles made from this shell, or entire shells.

Many of their village sites, both pre-European and post-European, yield small flint blades like a flint scraper in shape, whose edges have been finely serrated. These are unknown on nearly all the sites of the other Iroquoian nations.

Although all Iroquoian sites yield small, short bone tubes, seemingly hollow bird bones, cut into sections an

inch or more in length, most, probably all, Neutral sites yield large numbers of long bone tubes often five inches long and of a diameter up to three-fourths of an inch. Many of these are decorated with incised designs. The sites also yield antlers each perforated at a prong with a hole a half inch or thereabouts in diameter. These seem to be unknown on sites of the other Iorquois.

If we take as Neutral characteristics these four details, namely, conch-shell and its derivations, the serrated scraper-like saw, the large bone tubes and the perforated antlers, and by them judge the village sites of the Buffalo Creek valley, we find that not one possesses these marks, and we can safely assume that these are not of Neutral origin. On the other hand, sites in East Hamburg on the Yates farm, and the Ellis farm, previously mentioned, do show some or all these marks and they can safely be said to be of Neutral origin.

Beyond the borders of the reservation to the north there are certain other sites which show every characteristic of Neuter culture. Of these, the nearest is on the Niagara escarpment on the Tuscarora Reservation on the farm of Thomas Williams. This is locally known as Kienuka, meaning simply a fort. Connected with this is a tradition which has many curious aspects. It is supposed to have been the village in which lived the great "Peace Queen," and through her house which occupied the middle of that village ran the main road from the Seneca country westward across the Niagara River. Along this passed the war parties bound for the Huron and the Neuter country, and it was her function to maintain neutrality between the parties of warriors thus bound. According to the story, she maintained this neutral attitude for many years, but eventually she favored a party from the west who were at that time fighting against the Senecas. The Senecas, in revenge, destroyed

her and her village. This seems to be a curious combination in one tradition of the neutrality maintained by the Neuter Nation, connected in this one village with the personage known as the Great Peace Queen. This woman appears again in the Seneca tradition of the origin of the Iroquoian Confederacy, for she was associated with the two founders of the Confederacy from the beginning.

Another undoubted Neuter village beyond the confines of the reservation was on the northern extremity of Grand Island. Both these villages are of rather late post-European times.

Of the numerous inhabitants of the territory included in the Buffalo Creek reservation, it is probable that before the coming of the Senecas, most belonged to the nation known to the French as the Ouenrorohnons or Wenroes. and in all probability all the pre-European sites on the reservation may be ascribed to this people. Historically, very little indeed is known of these Wenroes. No Europeans are known to have visited them, and their occupancy of western New York terminated in 1639 before even second-hand information regarding their villages here had been received by Europeans. They were first mentioned by Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Recollect, who first of Europeans attempted a mission to the Neuter Nation. He visited the Neutral villages in 1626 and penetrated eastward seemingly as far as the Niagara River. There in a Neutral village he met men of this Wenro nation, who invited him to visit them, but immediately thereafter attempted to split his head, and stole his blanket and writing desk, his breviary and a bag of small articles.

After Father Dallion's somewhat disheartening experience, no mention was made of the Wenroes until 1635, when Father Brebeuf made a list of the Iroquois nations

which seemed to him to offer a field for missionary effort. This list appears to have been derived from information given him by the Hurons. In the list is the name of this nation which he calls the Ahouenrochrhonons.

Events of which we know nothing, but which have to do with the severance of a loose alliance between the Neuters and these Wenroes, made them the first victims of the growing power of the Iroquois Confederacy. War with these ferocious and inimical kindred tribes culminated in the migration of the entire nation of Wenroes westward across the Niagara to the country of the Hurons and the Neuters. In 1639 the Jesuit missionaries chronicled the arrival in the Huron towns of miserable refugees, the remnants of this nation. Father Jerome Lalemant, writing from the mission in the Huron town of Ossossane, wrote: "The Wenrorohnons formed in the past one of the associate nations of the Neutre Nation and were located on its boundaries toward the Hiroquois, the common enemies of all these peoples. As long as this nation of the Wenroes was on good terms with the people of the Neuter Nation it was sufficiently strong to withstand its enemies, to continue its existence and maintain itself against their raids and invasions. But the people of the Neutre Nation having through I know not what dissatisfaction, withdrawn and severed their relations with them, these have remained a prey to their enemies and they could not have remained much longer without being entirely exterminated, if they had not resolved to retreat and take refuge in the protection and alliance of some other nation." After the usage of Iroquoian diplomacy, ambassadors of the Wenro nation appeared in the Huron council and in the name of their nation begged that it be adopted by the Huron Confederacy and that it might be allowed to migrate thither. This request was most welcome to the Hurons, for the strength of this new

ally might be expected to offset in part the growing strength of their enemy kindred, the New York Iroquois, who were threatening to overwhelm the Huron Nation. After the deliberation necessary to a request of this nature, the Huron chiefs asquiesced and with their assent the Wenro ambassadors returned to their anxiously waiting people.

Upon receipt of this favorable reply the people of the villages abandoned their bark homes in the clearings along our creeks, converged by forest paths to some rendezvous, thence through the Neuter country across the Niagara and along the southern shore of Lake Ontario to its head. Here they were met by sympathetic Hurons who guided and accompanied them to the Huron town of Ossossane.

Of the nation thus seated in its new home, after its arduous journey of eighty leagues, there remained but 600 persons, most of whom were women and children. Their long march, combined with a terrible epidemic sickness which had broken out amongst them, had reduced them to such a pitiable condition that in the last stages of their journey the Hurons aided them with their burdens, assisted the weak and the suffering, and upon their arrival, gave up to them the best their villages afforded. The priests, also, busily ministered to them so effectively that these poor Wenro expatriates adopted the teaching of the priests, and many converts to the faith resulted. Of the sixty converts who received baptism at Ossossane that year, by far the most were of this nation. After a period of rest and recuperation, the people were distributed amongst the Huron towns, most remaining in Ossossane. A considerable number went to the Neuters and were assigned the village of Khioettoa, where later the priests established the mission, St. Michel. Of the character of these Wenroes, of their manner of life, the

priests recorded very little. They excelled in drawing an arrow from the body and in curing the wound. They had some intercourse with Europeans, for Father Bresani, in speaking of the persecution of the priests by the Hurons, and of the opinions of the Hurons that the priests were sorcerers and that the epidemics which had swept the country were due to them, says that these opinions were corroborated by the "Oeronronnons who had formerly traded with the English, Dutch, and other heretical Europeans." These had told the Hurons that the priests were wicked people who had been compelled to leave their own land and that they had come to the Hurons to ruin them.

These meager historical facts do not suffice satisfactorily to locate this nation in the Buffalo Creek Valley. Even the few facts given are confusing and contradictory. It is only by studying these few facts in connection with the archaeologic remains of this area and comparing them with those of other territories that the location of this nation can be definitely assigned.

The descriptions by the Jesuit priests yield some few definite facts: First: The Wenro Nation formed one of the associate nations of the Neutral Nation. From this, one may infer that the nation was removed at a distance from the Neuter Nation, but that it had at some time been an integral part of it. Father Lalemant says distinctly that they are "A nation of the Neutral language" and formed one of the nations allied with the Neuter Nation. Second: It was located on the boundaries of the Neutral Nation toward the Iroquois. This is a very definite statement regardless of where the boundaries of the Neutral country lay. Toward the Iroquois from the Neuters was toward the east only. Third: Father Lalemant stated quite definitely the distance which these people had to travel to reach the country. He spoke of the

very "painful voyage" of more than eighty leagues or 240 miles which they had to perform before reaching Ossosane, a village in the Huron country. The distance from the Huron village to the villages at Oakfield or at Elma scaled off in straight lines from the Georgian Bay to Hamilton, thence straight east across the Niagara River, is approximately 200 miles.

From these three facts one may infer that this nation lay to the eastward of the Niagara, somewhere about where Elma or Oakfield now are and that it was in close touch with the Neuters.

Two historical facts offer discrepancies. In the first list of Iroquoian nations in 1635, these Wenroes are listed after the Erie Nation. The other nations are listed more or less in order from east to west. In 1641 Father Lalemant wrote of them that they dwelt beyond the Erie of Cat Nation.

Basing his theory only on these two facts, George Donehoo, in a private letter to the writer, located these Wenroes on the western branch of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. This theory is, I believe, indefensible. In the first place, this mention was made in general, parenthetically, in connection with a different subject. Father Brébeuf's list was compiled from information derived from Hurons and not from personal knowledge and it was evidently both incomplete and inaccurate. But more important still is the fact that so far as known, there is no village site on the upper course of the western branch of the Susquehanna which might be ascribed to Wenro origin, and as the Wenroes were a sedentary people, any long occupancy of any site must inevitably leave marks characteristic of an Indian village.

On the other hand, in the valley of the Buffalo Creek, there do exist village sites which can only be ascribed to these Wenroes. They are the sites on Buffam Street

in South Buffalo, on the Eaton farm in West Seneca and three sites grouped at East Elma. Besides these, there are at least two other sites, one at Shelby and one at Oakfield, which cannot be ascribed to any other people.

These are all pre-European sites or at least sites in which only a few evidences of European intercourse can be found. They are certainly of Iroquoian origin, for every characteristic is Iroquoian. They are certainly not Neuter, for they show none of the characteristics noted as being distinctively Neuter. Neither are they Seneca, for they have none of the marks which distinguish the early Seneca sites. They fit Lalemant's descriptions in that they are at about the distance noted, eighty leagues from the Huron country.

Without being absolutely certain, then, that the Buffalo Creek Valley was inhabited in early days by these Wenroes, every piece of evidence seems to favor this theory. It seems probable that they were offshoots of the Neuters, the advance bands in their northeastern extension and being too weak to stand against their formidable enemies were finally obliged, first, to pause in their eastward movement, and, finally, to abandon their advanced villages in a retrograde movement. These villages with their cornfields about them formed clearings in the wilderness which seem thereafter to have been occupied intermittently by their Seneca conquerors who eventually reoccupied them. They were undoubtedly the nucleus of the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

There has been a disposition on the part of a few collectors to consider these pre-historic village sites along Buffalo Creek as of Erie origin. There is absolutely no reason for this identification. The Erie Nation lay south of Lake Erie. Its most eastern village was at Ripley. Other villages are to be found along the shore of Lake Erie from Willoughby, Ohio, to Sandusky. The culture

of these villages is Iroquoian, with enough individuality to mark it as Erian. These characteristics are not similar to those of the Buffalo Creek villages.

The post-European sites in the valley are without doubt of Seneca origin. All their characteristics are Senecan. They seem to have been colonies of Senecas which in the seventeenth century went out from the home villages to occupy the lands abandoned by the conquered peoples to the west of them. This expansion seems a natural consequence of their home conditions.

CHAPTER III.

THE SENECA ON BUFFALO CREEK BEFORE 1780.

By the middle of the 17th century the Iroquois had so far advanced in their domination of the neighboring nations that the region about the foot of Lake Erie had been entirely conquered and its inhabitants killed, scattered or assimilated by the nations of the Confederacy. The Wenroes had fled in a body to the unsafe refuge of the Huron Confederacy. The Neuters had been overcome and their scattered remnants were either banded together with other refugee victims of the Iroquois, or had been colonized amongst the villages of their conquerors. The country of the Erie Nation was over-run and the survivors of the fierce war which followed were merged with the Seneca Nation. Thus by 1655 the Iroquois Confederates had overwhelmed their neighboring kindred nations and had allowed the wilderness to swallow up their meager and isolated clearings.

The country thus desolated seems to have attracted settlers from the Seneca Nation almost immediately. It was natural that this should be so. The forests provided them with peltry, the only medium of trade with the now indispensable European trader, and to obtain this peltry hunting parties were constrained to leave their relatively populous and exhausted home territory and search out other and richer sources of supply. This necessitated long absences from their home villages; and because they were inherently a village people, it also made inevitable the establishment of colonies, far-flung, tiny villages to be used as bases for the hunting parties.

It was but natural also that in selecting sites for their

villages they should have utilized the already existing clearings made by their predecessors rather than to undertake the long and difficult work of clearing new sites. Therefore they established themselves upon the sites of Neuter or Wenro villages or on nearby and previously cleared lands.

As early as 1669, only seventeen years after the expulsion of the Neuters, a Seneca town had sprung up in their country, near the head of Lake Ontario, known and described by La Salle as Otinawatawa. In his later exploration he met a large party of Senecas from a village at or near Lewiston or Youngstown. At some time equally early a small village of Senecas existed on a terrace of Cazenovia Creek on the Hart farm in West Seneca; and seemingly at about the same time another small village sprang up in the wilderness on a similar terrace farther up the creek at South Wales. A somewhat larger band of colonists selected for a site a terrace on Cattaraugus Creek on the present Silverheels farm. The archaeology of these is so nearly identical what that of the great towns of Canagora and Totiakton in the home land of the Senecas that there is no reason to doubt that these were contemporaneous, and that these villages were inhabited by colonists from these great towns at some time between 1660 and 1690. What seems to have been a somewhat later village of Senecas crowned the terrace of Buffalo Creek at the foot of the present Fenton Street, Buffalo, yet even this can hardly have been later than 1700.

During the years of the French domination of the Niagara Frontier, Seneca colonists settled themselves in several villages there. One served as a home for the porters who were hired by the French to convey goods over the portage around the Falls. This was on the river bank above Lewiston just at the foot of the rapids where

a small stream has cut a deep gully down to the water's edge. Two other villages were noted by Pouchot on his map of 1759, as being on the main path between the Niagara and the Genesee, probably in the Tonawanda valley. Another was noted on the Cattaraugus. Subsequent events seem to show that some of these persisted after the English conquest. The Lewiston village would probably have been destroyed when the "*Magazin Royal*" which was its reason for being, was burned in 1759. The Cattaraugus village seems to have been the home of a party of Senecas who in 1763 fought the crew of the English bark *Beaver* which was wrecked on the shoals at the mouth of "Catfish Creek"—either Cattaraugus or Eighteen-Mile Creek. The survivors had reached the beach and had erected a palisade for protection. They were attacked by twenty-five or thirty Senecas who finally were driven off.

Because of this long though desultory occupancy of the region about the foot of Lake Erie it seemed inevitable that when the Iroquois were forced in 1779 to relinquish their long-occupied homes in middle New York they would immediately cast upon the valleys of the Buffalo, Tonawanda and Cattaraugus creeks as places suitable for new homes. These valleys were familiar to many of them and the clearings and villages already existing presented themselves logically as nuclei for new settlements. And, of all the Iroquois, it was most natural that the Seneca Nation should re-occupy these villages.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SENECA NATION.

The Seneca Indians who were chief in the conquest of the region about the Niagara Frontier and who still retain lands here are members of the Iroquoian family of Indians, which because of their intelligence, ferocity and statecraft, were at one time the most powerful to be found anywhere in North America. Of this great family the most important member in many ways was the Seneca Nation.

The Iroquoian family in its prime included the Five Iroquois Nations of New York, the Huron Confederacy of tribes, the Neuter Nation, the Andastes, the Eries, the Wenroes and the Tionontadis in the north; and the Cherokee Confederacy, the Tuscaroras and the Nanticokes in the south. All these nations spoke dialects of a common language, and were characterized by a culture which was similar, even amongst the most remote members.

The region occupied by this family was of great extent, and, with a few breaks, was continuous. When the Europeans met them their territory extended from the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence westward to Lake Huron, and southward following the valley of the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay. Beyond the territory of the Virginia Algonkians lay another region inhabited by Iroquoian peoples, reaching from North Carolina west and south to Georgia. Contiguous to their territory on the east were sedentary Algonkian nations. On the north lay the great wastes of Canadian forest through which roamed miserable Algonkian nomads. Westwardly lay vast regions which supported many tribes of several families. At

the extreme south was the Muskogee family. In the two centuries following their first meeting with Europeans on the St. Lawrence they extended their territory until it reached from the remotest wilds of the north to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Fierce, arrogant and intractable always, its members dominated or exterminated their neighbors, and grimly have they held to their own.

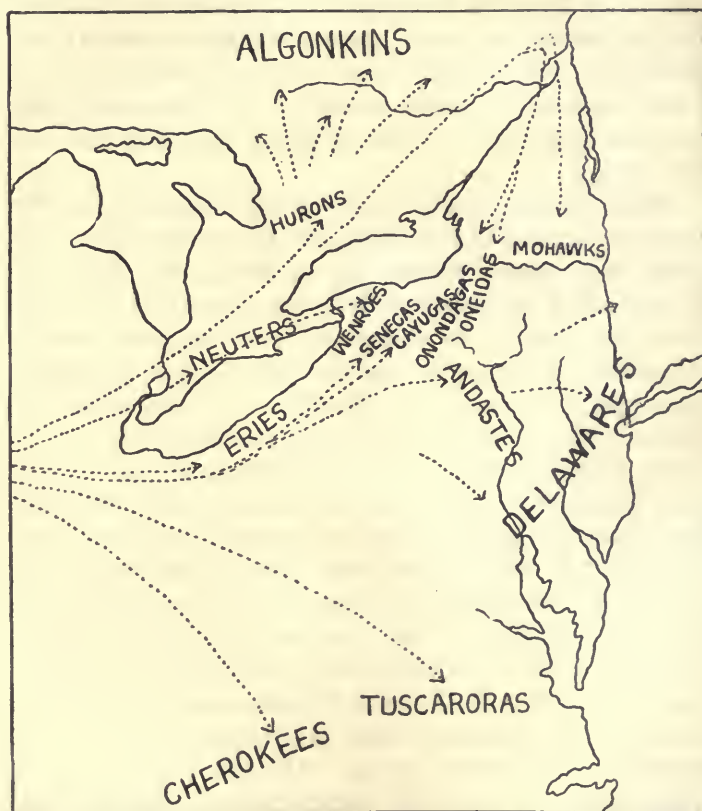


Diagram showing the probable movements by which the pre-historic Iroquoian nations entered their historic seats.

Of all the members of this powerful family, the Five Nations of New York exerted the most influence. When they first became known to the Europeans they were banded together in a confederacy known as the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, literally the "People of the Long House," whose eastern door was in the land of the Mohawks, and whose western door was guarded by the Senecas. In the center of the symbolical cabin was the council-fire, kindled by the Onondaga Nation, on each side of which reposed the younger members of the family, the Oneidas and the Cayugas.

This Confederacy was no loose or temporary union. On the contrary its members were firmly knit together by every bond of consanguinity, clan affiliations and personal and national advantage; and further, it was based upon a code of laws common to, and binding upon, all its members. This code was known amongst its members as the "Great Peace," and tradition has it that this "Great Peace" and the resulting confederacy were the work of a Mohawk, Hayonthwatha (Hiawatha), and a Huron, Dekanawideh, aided by a Neuter woman, the "Peace Woman," and later by an Onondaga, Atotarho. The formation of the confederacy antedated the advent of Europeans, though probably by less than a century, and it has persisted until the present day, for even as this is being written the Senecas on Cattaraugus Creek are preparing an elaborate welcome for delegates from the Confederacy.

The condition most powerfully influencing Hiawatha in his efforts to form this Confederacy was an incessant intertribal warfare; and his code of the "Great Peace" expressly bound the five confederated nations to perpetual peace amongst themselves, and to such warfare conducted against those not joining the Confederacy as would ensure peace to the confederates. This policy, car-

ried out faithfully and with pitiless severity by the warlike confederates, resulted in the extermination, first of their own kindred nations who had refused to enter the League, then of more remote and alien tribes.

Of the five original confederated nations, the Senecas from the first were the fiercest, most powerful and most intractable. They were last to join the Confederacy and then only after important concessions. They were symbolically the "Great Black Door through which came all good and evil news." Only they could bring before the council of nations any business needing attention. They guarded the western door of the Long House and so were entitled to a war chief of the Confederacy. Remote almost to inaccessibility from the influx of Europeans, these they treated mainly with haughtiness and arrogance. In the incessant forays against enemies, the Senecas were always conspicuous.

The name "Seneca," as applied to this western member of the Iroquois Confederacy, was originally a misnomer, yet it has been the name used for this nation by English-speaking people since their first intercourse with them and has been adopted by the nation as their official designation. The reason for this appellation is interesting.

The name "Seneca" was the term applied by the Algonkian nations seated on Hudson River to all the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy except the most eastern member. This latter, known to themselves as the Agniehronons, "People of the Flint," were called by their Algonkian neighbors, Maquas or Bears, probably from one of their conspicuous clans. Thus all the confederated Iroquois were divided by the Algonkians into two nations, the Maquas, (Mahaquas, Mohawks) and the Senecas. The first Dutch traders on the Hudson River received these two names from the Algonkians there, as thus applied, and used it in their intercourse with both nations.

In 1614 (or 1613) one of these traders, one Kleynties, following the policy of his employers, the Dutch West India Company, set out from Fort Nassau on the Hudson to explore to the west and southwest. His guides led him to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, which he followed southward. At some point on this river he was captured by Minquas in whose company he finally reached the seaboard at Delaware Bay. There he was ransomed by Captain Hendrickson, who was just then exploring the east coast. The information derived from his travels was used on two maps, made for the West India Company for a report to the States General on the explorations.

On the map he located the Maquas on their river and showed quite accurately almost the whole length of the Susquehanna. West of the Maquas and north of Lake Otsego he located the "Senecas," using this name first of Europeans.

It was not until 1634, twenty years later, that these "Senecas" of the Algonkians were properly designated. In that year Arent Van Curler pushed beyond the Maquas and visited a people west of them. These he called "Sinnekins," to whom he also applied their proper Iroquoian appellation, Enneyuttehage. These were the people whom we call Oneidas, who were seated exactly where the "Senecas" of Kleynties were located on his map. In the Oneida villages Van Curler also met other Iroquois "Sinnekins" whom he distinguished by their proper Iroquoian name, Onnondagas.

After Van Curler's segregation of the two terms Oneida and Onondaga from the general term "Sinnekin," the Dutch use of the name became restricted to the two more remote nations of the Confederacy. Eventually the Goyouguens became known by their proper Iroquoian name, which has come to us as "Cayuga," leaving only

the most remote nation still denoted by the Algonkian term "Seneca." This persisted until the English took over the Dutch colony and they continued the use of the term.

The Iroquoian appellation of the nation thus labeled with the alien name of Seneca, was "Djiionondowanen," meaning "the people of the great mountain." The Seneca traditions of their origin include their explanation of this term. "The tradition of the Seneca Indians, in regard to their origin, is that they broke out of the earth from a large mountain at the head of Canandaigua Lake, and that mountain they still venerate as the place of their birth. Thence they derived their name, 'Ge-nun-de-wah' or 'Great Hill,' and are called 'the Great Hill People,' which is the true definition of the word 'Seneca.'"

The reference seems, however, to be not so much to a hill at the head of Canandaigua Lake, as to the fact that the people were hill people, mountaineers, and this sense is preserved in the language of the Delawares, an Algonkian people, who knew them as "Maechiachtinni," meaning "great mountain people." It seems reasonable to suppose that both these names referred to their early custom of locating their towns on the summits of high hills.

When the Senecas first came into contact with Europeans, they lived in a few towns in the delectable region between Canandaigua Lake and the Genesee River, and their occupancy of this was of long duration, so much so that they had a tradition that they originated there.

This tradition has reached us through a medium which may be considered authoritative, for it was recorded as it was told by Mary Jemison, a white woman, who since childhood had lived amongst the Senecas. Her version of the tradition follows:

The tradition of the Seneca Indians in regard to their origin

is that they broke out of the earth from a large mountain at the head of Canandaigua Lake; and that mountain they still venerate as the place of their birth. Thence they derive their name, "Ge-nun-de-wah," or "Great Hill," and are called "The Great Hill People," which is the true definition of the word "Seneca."

The great hill at the head of Canandaigua Lake, from whence they sprung, is called Genundewah, and has for a long time past been the place where the Indians of that nation have met in council to hold great talks and to offer up prayers to the Great Spirit on account of its having been their birth-place, and, also, in consequence of the destruction of a serpent at that place in ancient time in a most miraculous manner, which threatened the destruction of the whole of the Senecas and barely spared enough to commence replenishing the earth.

The Indians say that the fort on the big hill or Ge-nun-de-wah, near the head of Canandaigua Lake, was surrounded by a monstrous serpent whose head and tail came together at the gate. A long time it lay there, confounding the people with its breath. At length they attempted to make their escape; some with their hominy-blocks, and others with different implements of household furniture; and in marching out of the fort walked down the throat of the serpent. Two orphan children who had escaped this general destruction by being left on this side of the fort were informed by an oracle of the means by which they could get rid of their formidable enemy, which was, to take a small bow and a poisoned arrow, made of a kind of willow, and with that shoot the serpent under its scales. This they did, and the arrow proved effectual; for, on penetrating the skin the serpent became sick and extending itself, rolled down the hill destroying all the timber that was in its way, disgorging itself, and breaking wind greatly as it went. At every motion a human head was discharged and rolled down the hill into the lake where they lie at this day in a petrified state, having the hardness and appearance of stones; and the Pagan Indians of the Senecas believe that all the little snakes were made of the blood of the great serpent after it rolled into the lake.

To this day the Indians visit that sacred place to mourn the loss of their friends and to celebrate some rites that are peculiar to themselves. To the knowledge of white people there has been no timber on the great hill since it was first discovered by them, though it lay apparently in a state of nature for a great

number of years without cultivation. Stones in the shape of Indians' heads may be seen lying in the lake in great plenty, which are said to be the same that were deposited there at the death of the serpent.

The Senecas have a tradition that previous to and for some time after their origin at Genundewah the country, especially about the lakes, was thickly inhabited by a race of civil, enterprising and industrious people who were totally destroyed by the great serpent that afterwards surrounded the hill fort, with the assistance of others of the same species; and that they (the Senecas) went into possession of the improvements that were left.

In those days the Indians throughout the whole country—as the Senecas say—spoke one language; but having become considerably numerous, the before-mentioned great serpent, by an unknown influence, confounded their language so that they could not understand each other; which was the cause of their division into nations—as the Mohawks, Oneidas, etc. At that time, however, the Senecas retained the original language and continued to occupy their mother hill on which they fortified themselves against their enemies, and lived peaceably until having offended the serpent, they were cut off as I have before remarked.

There are three very distinct traditions here. First, there is a tradition to account for the name, localized at Canandaigua Lake. Second, there is the serpent story. This is not confined to the Seneca branch of the Iroquoian family. It occurs also in almost identical form amongst the Wyandottes of Kansas. Third, there is the story that the Senecas were preceded by other people. This refers to their irruption into central New York from which they ousted an Algonkian people identical with or similar to the Delawares.

Although it is entirely possible that there is some truth in the tradition of their origin and it may refer to the merging here of two bands into one nation, there is no doubt that the Senecas were not autochthonous in that region, but migrated to it from some point to the westward. A very careful and intensive study of the sites

of their villages beginning with those described by French visitors in the 17th century, and tracing them backward in time into their Stone Age, make it certain that they entered the Genesee Valley at a point near Wellsville, and that a series of sites, which can only be ascribed to early Senecas, can be traced along the crests of hills as far west as Cassadaga. As far as this point, all the characteristics of the site are those common to the Senecas of the Genesee Valley. Their migration eastward along the route marked by these sites seems to have been through hostile country, for every site is fortified and is placed on the crest of the highest hill in its neighborhood.

Basing opinion upon the carefully studied archaeology of the Senecas, their earliest history may be said to begin when a band of Iroquoian people separated from their main stock at some point south of Lake Erie. This band may be thought of as pushing eastward into territory of hostile Algonkian people who occupied the Allegheny Valley. As a protection from these enemies they chose for homes the tops of high hills, and fortified themselves with palisades. Eventually this migration brought them athwart the Genesee Valley down which they progressed. Still they chose hill tops for their towns, and moved slowly northward into the region between Hemlock Lake and Canandaigua Lake. At about this time they entered the Confederacy, and shortly after they began to receive a few articles of European origin. Their last Stone Age villages are at Allen's Hill, Richmond Mills and Bristol. Their first post-European site is on the Tram farm, south of Lima.

Owing to the remoteness of the Seneca villages, no white persons visited them for nearly a generation after they first met Europeans. Not until 1657 did a white man penetrate to the Seneca country. In that year Chaumonot reconnoitered the country preliminary to the

establishment there of a mission, but only after a lapse of eleven years did the pioneer missionary, Father Fremin, reach his station. This mission continued for sixteen years, with slight success, in the face of the most discouraging reception. Intractable in all things, the Senecas were doubly so in religious matters and never were receptive to Christian endeavor.

In 1669 the Senecas met for the first time Robert Cavelier de la Salle, who came to their villages in search of a guide to the Ohio River. Ten years later he made them a second visit, this time to beg permission to build a boat in the Niagara and a fort at the mouth of the river. It is characteristic of the Senecas that they refused the guide and were far from gracious in permitting the building.

The Senecas were always hostile to the French, although there were times when it seemed politic to favor them. Once their hostility threatened to bring calamity. In 1683 they seized on some traders' goods, the private property of the then governor of New France, La Barre, who was far from being above doing a little illicit trading for himself. Furious at their temerity, he made extensive preparations to punish them. The Senecas were highly incensed and bent on war, but the expedition failed miserably and after a humiliating experience in council the French governor withdrew to Quebec.

Far more serious were the consequences of a punitive expedition launched against them in 1687 by Governor de Denonville. No sooner had he reached his province than he made preparations to punish the Senecas for their continued hostility toward the Canadians and their Indian allies, and through a show of force to demonstrate to them the desirability of allying themselves with France. So secretly did he prepare his blow that not until his army was actually disembarking in the Seneca

country did the Senecas know of his intent. In an effort to check his army, the Senecas ambushed the French forces a few miles from their largest town but they were overpowered and driven off. The French burned all their towns, destroyed their standing corn, then nearly ripe, and withdrew, leaving behind a desolated country and an infuriated people.

This terrible calamity was the direct cause of another migration. For the two generations preceding, the villages had been drifting slowly northward down the Bristol Valley and the Honeoye outlet. Now they turned back, the two eastern communities, seemingly, to the eastward, where eventually they made settlements at Canandaigua, Geneva and the region between Seneca and Canandaigua Lakes; and the two western communities to the west, settling along the Genesee River.

For nearly a century after Denonville's hand fell upon the Seneca Nation, the Senecas lived, for them, a fairly peaceful life. To be sure, war parties were out much of the time and their arms were carried far away to remote tribes. Their relations with the English continued as they had always been, friendly, and with the French as a whole, as they had always been, hostile. During these three generations, the eastern villages extended southward as far as Elmira, and at the same time the western branch extended up the Genesee Valley as far as Canadea, and thence over the divide into the Allegheny Valley. At about this time or even before, colonies had established themselves in the desolated country of the Neuters and Wenroes, on Buffalo and Tonawanda Creeks, and also on Cattaraugus Creek.

Meanwhile events were pending which unknown to the Senecas threatened their national existence. France, their ancient foe, had finally been divested of her possessions by the English, who had been from the beginning

on friendly terms with the Iroquois. When, after the French wars, the American colonists separated themselves from the Government of Great Britain, the Iroquois mainly adhered to their ancient allegiance and threw in their forces on the side of England. Mainly, for the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, the latter members of the Confederacy by adoption, remained partly at least, neutral in a quarrel which was of no interest to them, and for a time it seemed that the Long House was to be divided. The Senecas, especially, actively took part in the war and did yeoman service for their allies.

The policy of the English Government was to engage these Indians in forays against the outlying frontier towns of the middle colonies, in an effort to divert American forces from service against the English armies. As a result of this policy, war parties of Senecas and others, under English leaders and supplemented by English troops, harried the frontiers and desolated the outlying villages and farmsteads. Alarm and terror gave place on the frontiers to exasperation and fury. Congress in 1779 decided to punish these raiders, and if possible to overwhelm them so that there could be no repetition of the horrors of border warfare. Three punitive expeditions were planned and carried out. One under Colonel Brodhead proceeded up the Allegheny River and destroyed the Seneca towns located there. General John Sullivan crossed overland from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna and proceeded up this river to the forks, where he met a third force under Clinton. This left Albany and proceeded to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, thence down that stream to the rendezvous with Sullivan, destroying as they came the towns of the hostile Tuscaroras and others in the upper valley. The united forces proceeded up the Chemung, defeated a large party of English and Indians in a well-chosen ambush below El-

mira, and burned the Seneca towns at and near Elmira. Thence they drove straight into the heart of the unknown Seneca country. Northward and westward they marched steadily, destroying town after town, and giving ample time to the task of ravaging the wide fields of corn which surrounded them. With little opposition they reached the Genesee river, where was Chenussio, the great town of the Senecas. Having destroyed this, the colonials withdrew, taking on their way the hitherto untouched towns of the Cayugas, and leaving behind a desolated land and a homeless and starving people. This triumphal withdrawal marks the beginning of the history of the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The effect of General Sullivan's expedition into the Seneca country was far-reaching. It had been planned to secure one result, the prevention of further border warfare, such as had terrorized the frontiers since the beginning of the war. This it only partly achieved, for although no large or concerted action took place thereafter against the frontiers, forays were of frequent occurrence. One of its objects had not been attained. Fort Niagara, then the English base for war parties, headquarters of those English officers having in charge the warfare upon the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, was to have been attacked and captured. The lateness of the season, the remoteness of the post and the difficulties of transportation, had prevented the colonists from investing it.

Upon the Senecas and indeed upon the whole Confederacy it had a most startling effect. The Senecas especially had always considered themselves unconquerable. Generations of active warfare, almost uniformly successful operations against foes, both red and white, had made them arrogant, haughty and over-confident of their abilities. The remoteness and inaccessibility of their towns made for the utmost security. Their allies, the English,

had always supported them consistently and had supplied them in abundance with the munitions of war. Only once had their territory been invaded, and this invasion had been redly avenged. Besides, the English had assured them that this colonial force could never win its way into their lands. Yet slowly and deliberately it had won its way, their towns lay in ashes, their orchards were hacked down, the crops upon which they must depend were utterly ruined, and the people faced starvation. They were as a "nation destroyed." Gone was their arrogance, gone their supreme self-confidence. Amazement gave way to terror, this to blind panic, to be followed by sullen but resigned anger. Their confidence in the English was lost, moreover, never to be regained, and in its place was a strong and growing respect for those who had been powerful enough to overthrow them. That this respect was not superficial or forced is shown by the fact that George Washington, "The Destroyer of Towns," is the only white man allowed by the Seneca "New Religion" to approach the Indian Heaven.

A very important result of this campaign was that it gave the Iroquois the status of a conquered nation, and most of the land changes following the Revolution were consequent upon their being a conquered nation.

As the colonials penetrated deeper and deeper into the Seneca country they found their villages deserted, for the inhabitants fled in panic before them. Many of the non-combatants sought out inaccessible hiding-places in the forests about them. Mary Jemison describes the panic-stricken flight of Senecas from the Genesee towns and their refuge in the Tonawanda Valley at Varysburg. Many of the warriors repaired to Fort Niagara, their headquarters. Immediately after the colonials had withdrawn, and as soon as safety seemed assured, all these refugees returned to their villages, only to find ruin and

desolation. Of all the populous Seneca towns, but four remained. Much more serious was the probable food shortage, for although the crops about these four villages still remained, and although numerous crops in the lower Genesee Valley had remained undisturbed, there still was insufficient food to maintain the population until the next harvest. Nor could they as in times past depend upon the food of their confederates. All suffered alike.

Some of the Senecas elected to remain in their ruined villages. Many, however, flocked to Fort Niagara, where they were joined by refugees from the other nations. Here they passed a winter most terrible in its severity, living upon such scanty game as their hunters could secure in the snow-packed forests, on chance-found offal or carrion, and on the provisions doled out by the English commandant, Colonel Bolton, and by Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent. Immediately following the campaign Colonel Bolton reported that he was supplying 5036 with provisions. This influx of refugees gave the commandant no little concern. The lateness of the season made it impossible to receive additional supplies from Montreal or Quebec. Their own supply was limited. Yet this homeless, starving, dispirited multitude must be fed and cared for. Various plans of relief were tried during the winter. The refugees were urged to go to Montreal where they could easily be cared for. Those whose homes in the valleys of the Genesee, the Cattaraugus, and the upper Allegheny had escaped the careful search of the colonists, were urged to return and garner any of their crops still remaining, thus in a two-fold way to relieve the congestion at the Fort. The warriors were organized into war parties to operate against the border towns, thus drawing away from the Fort numerous hungry mouths.

These plans, any of which would have relieved the serious conditions at the Fort, were but fairly successful.

The terrorized refugees flatly refused to go to Montreal, and so thoroughly was their spirit broken that few could be induced to return to their abandoned homes. So severe was the winter and so deep the snow that war parties could not operate until late in the season. As a consequence the Fort was the base of supplies for a disorganized mob of refugees, 3,000 in number, who during that terrible winter dotted the plain about the Fort with their flimsy, nondescript cabins, and roamed the snow-covered wastes in search of anything which might appease their hunger.

As soon as the winter was broken up these starving bands scattered in search of localities likely to produce food for their subsistence. Many followed Joseph Brant, the Mohawk leader, to the Grand River in Canada. The Tuscaroras cast upon the crest of the "Mountain Ridge" above Lewiston as a likely abode. Many prominent Senecas, amongst them Sayenqueraghta, their war chief, and Rowland Montour, a prominent half-breed, selected lands in the fertile bottoms of Buffalo Creek, and to them eventually came a large band made up of Cayugas and Onondagas, refugees all.

These miserable settlers in the basswood thickets of the Buffalo Creek Valley did not come as invading pioneers breaking out new holdings in a strange region. They were rightful owners well established in their claims, coming into their own upon familiar and long-existing farm lands. That Buffalo Creek was well known to them seems certain. There is little doubt that there were families, if not villages, even then amongst the basswoods of Buffalo Creek.

CHAPTER V.

THE NAME BUFFALO.

The name Buffalo Creek applied to our stream first appeared on a map at a comparatively late period. Seemingly its first appearance was on a map, a copy of which in the "Documentary History of New York"¹ is included with papers of Sir William Johnson. The map delineates with a good deal of accuracy the entire course of the Niagara River, at the upper end of which in its proper place is our stream with the name Buffalo Creek. It is entitled "Map of the Niagara River or the Straits between Lakes Erie and Ontario by Geo. Dember, 60th regt." No date is given, but it seems to have been made shortly after the capture of Fort Niagara, and therefore might be of the year 1760 or thereabouts.

The name Buffalo appeared in print in the narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert Family, published in 1780. In 1784 a treaty was signed at Fort Stanwix definitely fixing the line beyond which the Iroquois relinquished all land claims. In this treaty, both the Iroquois name Tehosororon and the English name, Buffalo Creek, were applied to the stream, the mouth of which served as one point in the boundary. That this was a well-established name at that time seems to be shown both by this treaty and by a letter written by General Irvine to General Washington, in which the name Buffalo is used without further explanation, as though the name were familiar to both writer and receiver.

That the name Buffalo, as applied not only to the creek but to the vicinity, was thoroughly well known by 1800,

¹ Doc. Hist. New York II, 792 (octavo ed.). See Col. Bouquet corr.

is shown by the attempt on the part of Joseph Ellicott to change it. His plans contemplated the establishment of a village at the mouth of the creek which he named New Amsterdam, but this name persisted for less than ten years. Congress, in 1805, erected a collection district on Buffalo Creek, and the collector was to reside at "Buffalo Creek." Even Ellicott, himself, as early as 1807, referred to his new village as New Amsterdam, *alias* Buffalo Creek; and a year later, when the New York Legislature erected Niagara County, it named as a county seat, "Buffalo or New Amsterdam." In 1810 the town of Buffalo was formed; and no reference being made to the name New Amsterdam, it can be assumed that officially (as it seems to have been unofficially), the name Buffalo had supplanted it permanently.

The name Buffalo or Buffalo Creek might easily be considered to be a translation of the Indian name of the locality or to be a derivative from such a translation. This cannot be said for Buffalo, for the Indians did not apply this name either to the creek or to the vicinity. To them it was "the place of basswoods." In a letter written at Cattaraugus Reservation April 30, 1855, Mr. Asher Wright says: "The Indian name of the creek has no connection with the English. It indicates that at some time it was remarkable for the basswood trees along its banks. 'Oo-sah' is the Seneca name for basswood, and they called the creek and the tract near its mouth 'Tiyoos-yo-wa,' that is, 'At the place which abounds with basswoods.' This, at length, became shortened to 'Dosyowa,' the present name for the creek, city and reservation." The name varied in its pronunciation in the dialects of the Six Nations, yet always it retained the reference to this locality as a place where there were many basswood trees.

That this name was the well known and accepted ap-

pellation for the creek, is evidenced by the initial designation of it in the Fort Stanwix Treaty, already alluded to, as "Te-hos-or-or-on," which is a variant of the Seneca name "Dyosowa."

It is of interest to note in this connection that the Tonawanda Creek was also known to the French by a similar name, their term being the *rivière au bois blancs*. Under this name, it appears in Chabert's correspondence and on Pouchot's map of 1759.

It might easily be expected that the English name Buffalo, was the translation of an earlier French name. The French, however, like the Indians did not know the stream as Buffalo Creek. To them it was *Rivière aux Chevaux*, "The River where the Horses are." This name was used by de Lery in 1754 when he chronicled his expedition to the Ohio River by way of the Niagara and Lake Erie. He had proceeded up the Niagara River to a camping place "below the Little Rapids," where he was detained by a heavy rain storm. On Sunday, June 2d, he made an attempt to proceed, but was caught by a strong westerly wind. "When I was at the crossing of the *Rivière aux Chevaux* the wind increased and compelled me to encamp at nine o'clock in the morning."

In April, 1758, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, gave to Daniel de Joncaire, a monopoly of transportation over the Niagara Portage. In compensation for this exclusive privilege, Joncaire was to erect certain buildings. In the governor's instructions, he was to "apply himself to cultivate lands at the river *aux Chevaux*, at the entrance to Lake Erie where the pasturage is excellent." The only locality to which this reference can possibly refer is Buffalo Creek.

Although the French name for our river contained no reference to the buffalo, there was a stream definitely known to the French as the Buffalo River. This was a

stream emptying into Lake Ontario, probably the present Oak Orchard Creek which had been called by Charlevoix, as early as 1721, the *Rivière aux Boeufs*. On Pouchot's map, it appears as *Grand R. aux Beufs*, and on a map made by Beaurain in 1777, this stream still appears as Buffalo River.

Failing to explain the English name Buffalo, as a translation of some pre-existing Indian or French name, one finds the simplest explanation in the contained reference to the occurrence here of the American bison, popularly named the buffalo. For this, there is ample precedent in the appearance of the name as a **locality name** over much of the country in the Mississippi valley. The Century Atlas lists eighty-two localities bearing names referring to the buffalo, these extending over territory from middle Pennsylvania to Nevada, and from Georgia to Alberta.

Simple though it be to explain the name by connecting it with the occurrence here of the bison, it is far from simple to show that this explanation is a correct one, for it is not at all certain that buffalo ever lived or even wandered here. Certainly no white visitor ever recorded having seen one here or ever having heard of one frequenting this locality, although Charlevoix, who passed through the Niagara Region, mentions and describes these animals which he first saw farther west. The Senecas had no remembrance or tradition that the buffalo frequented this creek, although some of the older people, a century ago, spoke of having seen the bones of animals which they thought to be buffalo, lying upon the ground in the immediate vicinity. The absence of any record or tradition is evidence, though not strong evidence, that buffalo were not frequenters of this creek.

A somewhat stronger evidence exists in those village sites on the reservation which were inhabited during pre-

European times. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of these sites is the deep deposits of black earth which mark the location of the village refuse heaps. Upon these refuse heaps went all the garbage and waste from the houses of the village, the ashes and charcoal of their fires, all articles which were broken or lost and with these, bones of the animals which had been consumed as food. In the years intervening since these beds were laid down, all perishable matter has decomposed and there remains only the resulting black, ashy earth intermingled with which are such articles as are by their nature nearly indestructible, and with these are great quantities of animal bones. Amongst these bones we might expect to find those of all the animals brought to the village for food, for eventually most of them would find their final reposing-place in the refuse pile. Should the buffalo have been abundant, they would certainly have been killed for food and in the natural course of events, some of their bones must have inevitably reached these village middens. An absence of these bones from the refuse, would be the strongest possible evidence that the buffalo did not exist here when those villages were inhabited.

The writer has carefully examined refuse heaps on every village site in the territory comprised in the Buffalo Creek Reservation. From them, he has taken literally bushels of animal bones representing every food and fur animal known to have inhabited western New York, from the elk and larger deer to the squirrel, the frog and the fish; but neither on the pre-European Wenro sites, the earliest post-European Neuter sites, or the later Seneca sites, has there ever been found a single bone or a single fragment of a bone which can be attributed to the buffalo. This absence is a very strong evidence that it did not constitute a food animal of the villages of those

three periods, which it must indubitably have done had it been found here.

Because of the lack of any historic or traditional evidence that buffalo lived or visited here, and because the refuse heaps of the Indians who lived here during the past 300 years show an entire absence of evidence of the buffalo, it can safely be said that these animals did not either live or visit here. That the creek received its name because of an abundance here of the buffalo has, therefore, absolutely nothing to substantiate it.

That the origin of the name has always been doubtful, is shown by the efforts of the early settlers to explain it. One of these is the story repeated by the Reverend Asher Wright. According to this story, a party of travelers from the east tarried at the creek and thinking that because they were so far west they must be in buffalo country, they requested their landlord to provide buffalo meat. The landlord, to satisfy them, sent out hunters who presently returned with newly-dressed meat. This was served to the travelers who pronounced it excellent. Later it transpired that the hunters had killed a colt instead of a buffalo and because of the joke, the name was applied to the creek.

This story fails utterly to explain the name, for long before there was a landlord at Buffalo Creek or travelers who might be so unsophisticated that they could be so easily fooled, the name Buffalo Creek had already been applied and was familiar to many.

Probably the true explanation of the name is that of the Seneca Indians. This is given by Nathaniel T. Strong of Irving, in a letter dated July 10, 1863. After speaking of the name, he says: "The Indian account is substantially this: that many years ago De-gi-yah-go, in English, Buffalo (a Seneca Indian of the Wolf Clan), built a bark cabin on the banks of the Buffalo Creek and

lived there for many years until his death. His occupation was that of a fisherman. A fisherman in ancient times, with the Senecas, was an important person from the fact that the Indians in the fishing season almost wholly subsisted on fish and De-gi-yah-go was the chief fisherman of the nation. The theory then, is that when the white pioneers came to that creek, they doubtless entered into the bark cabin of De-gi-yah-go and learned from him his name. And the pioneers translated and gave the name to Buffalo Creek, after the Seneca fisherman whose bark cabin stood upon its banks."

In this story there is nothing at all improbable. That there were Senecas living on the Buffalo Creek very early, is certain. That the creek might have been named after one of these Senecas who was prominent, is not only possible but probable. Both Smoke's Creek and Scajaquada Creek were named in this way, one either from a very prominent Seneca chief known to the whites as Smoke, or from a Delaware chief "Captain Smoke," who lived in a village on the banks of this stream; the other from an Indian known to the whites as Skenjockety.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFUGEES ON BUFFALO CREEK.

Of the beginnings of the new settlements on Buffalo Creek we know little. No record is available of the numbers of refugees selecting this valley, or of the places where they began their clearings. A few meager details may be gleaned from the narrative of the Gilbert family, members of which were brought captive here by families into which they had been adopted. The movements of these families may, however, be considered typical of the whole.

Amongst the Senecas who moved to Buffalo Creek was the family of Sayenqueraghta, the war chief of the Confederacy. His family, taking with it two child captives, moved first to the Five-Mile Meadows, now Stella Niagara, on the eastern bank of the Niagara above Youngstown, where they had a cabin. After a short stay here, and several visits to Fort Niagara and Fort Schlosser, at the head of the portage road above the Falls, they moved by canoe up the river to Fort Erie. After a brief stay here the family paddled across the river and up "Buffaloe Creek" for a distance of about four miles, and joined Sayenqueraghta and his wife who had preceded them. Evidently these had already selected a suitable location, for almost immediately the women of the party began clearing land for planting. While the ground was being prepared the men built a log cabin. The summer seems to have been spent tending the crops, with several visits to Fort Erie and Fort Niagara. The war chief, because of his rank and prominence, was well treated at these posts, so much so that while returning from one of

these visits at Fort Erie he was so overcome by the wine which he had drunk that he nearly upset his canoe, and narrowly escaped drowning.

Another captive, Elizabeth Peart, had been adopted into a Seneca family which settled on Buffalo Creek. Two days after her adoption her family moved to Fort Schlosser, from which they made a leisurely journey in a bark canoe to Buffalo Creek where they selected land. As soon as this had been done they returned to Fort Niagara where they purchased provisions, and probably seeds and tools. This done they hurried back to Buffalo Creek for the corn-planting. The family cleared and broke land, and evidently built a cabin.

During the ensuing summer both these families seem to have been dependent for supplies upon the English at Fort Niagara, and this was probably true of the others, in some degree at least. Sayenqueraghta's influence enabled him to secure supplies sufficient for the needs of his family. Others would probably have subsisted upon the scanty fare supplied by their hunters, eked out by such provisions as they might be able to get at the Fort.

Judging by the harvest garnered by Sayenqueraghta's family the season and soil were favorable. They gathered seventy-five bushels of corn, besides potatoes and pumpkins. This is the first recorded harvest from the fertile fields along our creek.

The following spring, 1781, the families left their plantations and made a camp six miles up the lake in a maple grove. Here they stayed for two months, making maple sugar. A great pigeon roost later in the season supplied them with squabs and pigeons for present use, and when smoked, for the following winter.

These experiences of the only two families of whom we have any record were probably identical with those of all the others. They came, selected their land, and

hacked down such trees as encumbered their ground. The men built cabins of the logs thus provided and secured game and fish enough for their subsistence. The women, meanwhile, cleared the land of its underbrush, and with primitive tools, or with hoes received from Fort Niagara, planted their seed corn amongst the stumps. The long summer months while waiting for their harvest they spent in the daily routine of primitive life, varied by visits to the forts.

For nearly two decades after the Seneca refugees pushed their canoes up the languid current of Buffalo Creek and in the unkempt clearings along its banks reared their miserable cabins and garnered their meager crops of corn, their little cluster of cabins hidden away in the wilderness was the scene of activities far-reaching and important. This period coincided with the formative period of the United States. The Revolution ended officially in 1783, and the new republic was born in 1789. States were settling their disputed claims upon a vast wilderness. Ambitious land companies casually bought and sold lands the size of European kingdoms, and restless whites were pushing ever westward from their increasingly crowded eastern settlements.

Remote and immured though they were, the settlements on Buffalo Creek were far from remaining unaffected by these rapidly-moving events. Visitors came among them; inquisitive tourists bound for the English posts on the Upper Lakes; British officers; envoys and delegations from the new republic; land agents; missionaries; surveyors, all toiled through the sodden forests or up the turbulent river, tarried for a brief while at Buffalo Creek, then passed on. From these cabins went emissaries to the distant southwestern Indians; delegations to Philadelphia, specially invited by his excellency, the President; grave and stately barbarians, gathering to

take council about lands; painted warriors, filing away on the dim trail to the west to aid their brethern on the war-path.

The first visitors were captives, dragged from their cabin homes on the frontiers, adopted into Seneca families and with them settling on Buffalo Creek. Of these none have received more notoriety than members of the Gilbert family who were brought here as captives at the very beginning of the settlements. Although their adventures differed little from those of hundreds of other captives, they were published in detail and so attracted a great deal of attention even at that time.

The seizure of the family and their forced journey to Niagara were incidents common to the border warfare of the time. Benjamin Gilbert, a Quaker, had established a grist and saw mill on Mahoning Creek which empties into Lehigh River a few miles from Mauch Chunk. At the time this was on the frontier of Pennsylvania, and was known to be in constant danger from war parties. A portion of the Susquehanna Valley at Wyoming had already been raided and other raids were frequent. Probably because he considered himself secure through the known fact that he was a Quaker, Mr. Gilbert remained at his mill in spite of alarms.

On April 25, 1780, a party of eleven Indians, one of those sent out from Fort Niagara to relieve the congestion there, appeared at the mill. Five of this party were Senecas, and in command were two half-breed Senecas, Rowland and John Montour. Because resistance seemed useless, or because Mr. Gilbert had religious scruples against armed resistance, the entire family gave themselves up. The Indians tied them securely and after looting and burning their home, marched them off on their long journey to Fort Niagara. The party of prisoners numbered fifteen and comprised the immediate family of Mr. Gilbert with

his sons' wives and families, a neighbor's girl and a hired man. Of this party only five were brought to Buffalo Creek, Elizabeth Peart, wife of Benjamin Peart and her nine months' old baby; Rebecca Gilbert, sixteen years old; a little boy, Benjamin Gilbert, probably her cousin; and Abner Gilbert.

This relatively large party was hurried along the forest trails to Fort Niagara, enduring on the way all the hardships incident to captivity, hunger, utter fatigue, cold, blows and the constant danger of massacre by their captors, and finally the gauntlet. After seventeen days they reached the Fort and comparative safety. Here the party was dispersed. Rebecca was fortunate enough to be adopted at once by the daughter of Sayenqueraghta, who had married Rowland Montour. Some members of the family were sent down to Quebec and safety. Others were sent to the Genesee villages of Nundow and Caneadea. Elizabeth Peart was adopted by a Seneca family which eventually went to Buffalo Creek. The boy Benjamin was adopted into the family of Rowland Montour with his cousin Rebecca. Abner was adopted into the family of one of his captors, a Cayuga.

The family which adopted Elizabeth took her with them to Buffalo Creek, where they broke ground for corn. Scarcity of provisions made it necessary for the whole party to return to Fort Niagara. Here they separated Elizabeth and her infant child and sent the baby to a family in Canada. When they returned to their plantation on Buffalo Creek, Elizabeth became ill. At first her family showed her some attention, but her sickness continuing, they built her a hut on the edge of their cornfield and left her there to look after it. Here she was cheered by a visit from a white man, a captive like herself, who brought the news that her baby had been released and was then safe with some white people. She

remained isolated here until autumn, when, harvest being over, she was taken in once more by her Seneca family.

She remained with them at Buffalo Creek only part of the winter of 1780-1781. Another captive had brought her the news that her husband was at the Genesee River and that he was ill, but late in the winter her family went to Fort Niagara for a supply of provisions and took her with them. Here she met her husband who had been brought from the Genesee, and was re-united with her child, and ultimately they were released without her having returned to Buffalo Creek.

The girl, Rebecca Gilbert, sixteen years old, and Benjamin Gilbert her cousin, somewhat younger, were adopted into the family of Rowland Montour, a half-breed son-in-law of Sayenqueraghta. Almost immediately after their arrival, in May, 1780, the whole family moved to Buffalo Creek. Here the two children fared better than Elizabeth Peart. Rebecca was well clothed in "short clothes, leggings and a gold-laced hat." She was assigned part of the cooking which she was able to do after the "English method." Benjamin was considered to be the successor of Sayenqueraghta and "was entirely freed from restraint," and as a token of his impotence he wore a "silver medal pendant from his neck."

On several occasions during the summer of 1780 the children were taken to Fort Erie and Fort Niagara. On one of these visits the English made efforts to ransom them, but their Seneca family refused to release them and they were brought back to Buffalo Creek. Here they passed a season of misfortune. Both became sick with malaria, for which their Indian mother treated them with various Indian medicines. While they were sick they received news of the death of Rebecca's father, who died on the way to Quebec. Shortly afterward they were once more bereaved; this time by the death of their Indian

father, Rowland Montour, who died of a wound incurred in a raid.

During the winter of 1780-81 the English made several efforts to have the children released but to no avail, for their adopted family would not give them up. Finally the family was made to understand that General Haldimand had issued mandatory orders that every white prisoner be released, and they finally acquiesced.

The release was not immediate, for in the early spring of 1781 the family took the children to a maple-sugar grove where for two months they helped make maple sugar. After their return to Buffalo Creek, news was received of a pigeon roost about fifty miles away and part of the family repaired thither, taking Benjamin. Finally, the time set for their release having approached, the two children made ready for their departure, and probably with few regrets embarked in the canoe which bore them for the last time from the fragrant basswoods of Buffalo Creek.

Abner Gilbert, another member of the family, had been adopted by a Cayuga who took him across the river. Here they cleared land near the Falls, and planted corn. The next spring, 1781, he was taken to some place "near Buffalo Creek," where he helped clear land for corn, squashes and potatoes. Here he spent a whole season in a "dronish Indian life." He was visited by Captain Powell from Fort Niagara and by his half brother Thomas Peart, who had been released. These had brought hoes and a stock of provisions for distribution amongst the Senecas. Soon after this Abner was released.

Besides these four captives who were constrained to make their home here, there were other visitors who followed the windings of the creek, either on business bent or under restraint. Two captives, we know, visited Elizabeth Peart here. One of the Pearts passed this way

on his journey to the Genesee Valley. Thomas Peart, possibly the same, visited his half-brother near here. Meanwhile officers from the forts seem to have visited here occasionally.

For four years after the first settlements were made in 1780, nothing was recorded as having happened at Buffalo Creek. It seems to have been a period of more or less quiet growth, when the Senecas and their colleagues, the Cayugas and Onondagas, after various shiftings about, began to settle down in several communities, of which that at Buffalo Creek was the most important.

During these four years the American War had ended, and peace was declared in 1783. At once disputes had arisen amongst the colonies regarding their claims to lands beyond their actual borders, and these claims were to have a very decided effect upon the fortunes of the Seneca settlers along Buffalo Creek.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OWNERSHIP OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

When in 1628 Charles II chartered the colony of Massachusetts he granted to it an immense tract of land at that time almost entirely unexplored and unknown. The original grant of James to the "Councell" at Plymouth comprised "all that parte of America lyeing and being in bredth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctiall lyne to the forty eight degrees of the saide latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the bredth aforesaid throughout the maine landes from sea to sea." . . . This "Councell established at Plymouth in the county of Devon for the plantinge, ruling, ordering and government of Newe England in America," deeded on March 19, 1628, to John Endicott and others all that part of America lying between a line three miles north of the Merrimac River or to the northward of any and every part of it, and a line three miles south of the southern part of Massachusetts Bay, "and all landes and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the lymytts aforesaide, north and south in latitude and bredth aforesaide, throughout the maine landes there from the Atlantick and western sea and ocean on the east parte; to the south sea on the west parte. . . ." The tract thus granted lay between $41^{\circ} 40'$ and $44^{\circ} 15'$ or approximately between the present Pennsylvania line and the head of the St. Lawrence River; and extended beyond Lake Erie, to include the southern half of Michigan and Wisconsin.

The portion of New York thus claimed by Massachusetts may be said roughly to comprise all south of St.

Lawrence County and west of a line laid down by Guy Johnson in 1771 under orders from the then Governor of New York, as being the western boundary of New York. New York also claimed this same tract on its western boundary because of a grant made in 1664 by Charles II in favor of James, Duke of York. More particularly, however, it claimed it because it belonged to the Six Nations, who were always claimed by New York as dependents.

Besides these two conflicting paper claims upon the lands of the present western New York there was the claim of the Six Nations based upon their actual possession of the tract in question and their proved ability to hold it by force of arms. Both New York and Massachusetts recognized this prior claim of ownership.

From the very beginning the Dutch in the New Netherlands had always recognized the claims of the Indians to land which they occupied, and had uniformly purchased from those Indians in actual or apparent possession all lands which they acquired, every settler being at liberty to buy directly from the Indian owners. After the transfer of New Netherlands to England this procedure was so changed that to acquire Indians lands prospective buyers must procure from the Governor of the province a license authorizing them to treat with the Indians in their effort to acquire title. That the recognition of the possessory rights of the Indians by the New York government was a settled policy is shown by the instructions to the Earl of Bellomont in 1697 by which he was to purchase "great tracts of lands for His Maj'ty from the Indians."

After the American Revolution this policy was continued in the State Constitution by the clause: "Be it ordained, That no purchase or contracts for the sale of lands made since the fourteenth day of October, in the

year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, or which may hereafter be made with any of the said Indians, within the limits of this State, shall be binding on the said Indians, or deemed valid, unless made under the authority and with the consent of the Legislature of this State." An act was passed in 1788 giving power to enforce this article and to punish infractions of it.

In settling their conflicting claims New York and Massachusetts therefore, could not ignore the claims of the Six Nations. These were considered by the United States as conquered but sovereign nations, and their claims were recognized by both states as valid. Title to these lands could only be acquired by purchase under authority of one or the other state. The extent of these lands was unknown at the time of the Revolution. Until the end of the eighteenth century there existed no definite boundary between the lands of the colony of New York and those of the Six Nations. In 1701 in a treaty with Lieutenant Governor Nanfan the Five Nations surrendered to the King of Great Britain all their hunting lands which they had acquired by conquest and which they defined in detail. This deed was ratified by three of the nations in 1726, the Tuscaroras having come in. The land thus surrendered in trust was a tract sixty miles wide from the Onondaga country along Lake Ontario, Niagara River and Lake Erie to Canahogue Creek on Lake Erie.

A conference was held in 1768 between Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations at which a boundary between them and the English colonies was fixed. This line began at the junction of the Canada and Wood Creeks near Fort Stanwix. Thence it ran southward to the head of Tionaderha Creek (Unadilla); thence to the mouth of this and across to the Mohawk branch of

the Delaware. It followed down the Delaware to the Popaston branch; thence westward to the Susquehanna which it touched at Owega. It then followed the Susquehanna to Awandoe Creek, then across to the west branch of the Susquehanna, thence west across to the Allegheny River with it touched at Kittaning.¹

Eventually the various claimants amongst the States, following the recommendation of Maryland, had ceded nearly all the lands claimed by them west of Pennsylvania to the Federal Government, which took immediate steps to acquire title to them. The Iroquois Confederacy being considered a conquered nation, ambassadors were summoned to meet in council and sign a treaty ceding to the United States all their lands in the west.

As a result of this conference at Fort Stanwix in 1784 a treaty was signed in which a definite boundary was established beyond which the Six Nations relinquished all claim. The boundaries are designated in article 3 of the treaty as follows: "A line shall be drawn beginning at the mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's landing place upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path between Lakes Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo Creek on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west to the end of the said north boundary; thence south along the west boundary of the said state to the river Ohio; the said line from the mouth of Oyonwayea to the Ohio shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations...."

The region between this line and the line laid down by Sir William Johnson was thus recognized by the United States as belonging to the Six Nations. Five

¹ Col. Docs. VI, 800; VIII, 136, 548. Bur. Eth. 1896-1897, 581.

years later at Fort Harmar the Six Nations renewed and confirmed this treaty with an amendment that these nations be allowed possession of all lands east, north and south of this line. At the same time the United States confirmed the Six Nations in possession of all lands inhabited by them, not previously ceded, and these lands were then ceded to New York State.

Meanwhile New York and Massachusetts had settled their conflicting claims to lands west of Johnson's line by a compromise. By an agreement made in 1786 at Hartford, New York acquired sovereignty and jurisdiction over them. Massachusetts was given the right to sell the lands, but as these were still the property of the Indians, this right consisted really of the right of "pre-emption," which was the right to purchase first from the Indian owners.

The western boundary of the lands over which New York was to have sovereignty and to which Massachusetts was to retain the first right to buy from the Indians was designated as follows:

Along the line between the possessions of Great Britain and the United States in Lake Ontario, "thence westerly and southerly along the said boundary line to a meridian which will pass one mile due east from the northern termination of the strait or waters between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; thence south along the said meridian to the south shore of Lake Ontario; thence on the eastern side of the said strait by a line always one mile distant from and parallel to the said strait to Lake Erie; thence due west to the boundary line between the United States and the King of Great Britain; thence along the said boundary line until it meets with the line of cession from the State of New York to the United States; thence along the said line of cession to the northwest corner of the State of Pennsylvania. . . "

It will be noted that this western boundary line is not coincident with the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations as established at the Fort Stanwix treaty. The western line of the Indian lands at the northern end of the Niagara was to be four miles east of the river. The western line of the State of New York was established one mile east of the river. The western boundary of the Indian lands was a line drawn south from the mouth of Buffalo Creek. The Massachusetts compromise gave to New York all of that portion of the present New York between the meridian of Buffalo and the northwest corner of Pennsylvania.

The right of "pre-emption" upon which was based all the later land purchases was definitely and explicitly granted to Massachusetts in the tenth article of the compromise as follows:

"Tenthly. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts may grant the right of pre-emption of the whole or any part of the said lands and territories to any person or persons who by virtue of such grant shall have good right to extinguish by purchase the claims of the native Indians"

At the present time this pre-emption right still constitutes "a lien or preference in case of sale" upon the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. The title to all the lands of the Six Nations in New York was eventually acquired by purchase, excepting these lands on the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny, the Tonawanda and at Oil Spring. The pre-emption right to the Tonawanda lands was extinguished by the United States, but it still hangs like a shadow over the other two reservations, being vested in the heirs of a Mr. Appleby, who until a few years ago was the sole remaining trustee of the Ogden Land Company.

The lien is a peculiar one. "The title to these reservations is in the nation, and the members are therefore at common law, 'tenants in common.' Each owns his undivided share absolutely, independent of the United States or the State of New York. The individuals, however, only hold a fee equivalent to the ownership of the land they improve, with power to sell or devise amongst their own people, but not to strangers. It is a good title. The nation itself can not disturb it. Within the Six Nations each head of a family or a single adult has the right to enter upon unoccupied land, build upon it, and improve it, thereby acquiring title, with authority to sell to another Indian or devise the same by will; but all these transactions must be between Indians."¹

Immediately after the compromise prospective purchasers appeared for the Indian lands in New York. Of these the most prominent were Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps. These formed a company comprising most of the other applicants and as agents for this company they purchased from Massachusetts all the Indian lands owned in New York by that commonwealth for one million dollars to be payable in three years in Massachusetts paper money. The value of this script was low at that time but before the expiration of the three years it had so appreciated in value that the company was unable to pay in full.

The purchase of Phelps and Gorham was of the pre-emption right only, the right to purchase the lands in question from their Indian owners. Massachusetts could give no title to the lands, for this was considered still in the Iroquois. It conveyed "the right of pre-emption and all the title and interest of the said Commonwealth in and unto all that tract of land lying in the State of New York, the right of pre-emption whereof the State of

¹ Donaldson, Census for 1890 for Indians, p. 449.

New York ceded, granted and confirmed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts . . . ”

It remained to acquire title to the lands from these Indians, and to do this they called a meeting at Buffalo Creek in 1788.

To secure the good will of the Senecas, Mr. Phelps decided to send to Buffalo Creek a man who had already the confidence of this nation. This was a minister, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, who had in many ways identified himself with the best interests of the Six Nations, and who was favorably known amongst them. He had already been as far west as the Seneca town at the present Geneva. He had been appointed Commissioner by Massachusetts to represent it at the sale, and he was now to visit the almost unknown settlements at Buffalo Creek.

Guided by two Senecas he passed through the once populous country bordering the Genesee. Crossing this, he followed the well-trodden path which led westward. On his way he noted as curiosities an earthen embankment, the remains of an Indian fort which he described minutely, and a hidden lake, the abode of a fire-breathing monster, whom his Seneca guides appeased by sacrifices. The embankment was that still visible at Oakfield. The demon-haunted lake is Devil's Lake, a tiny pond below the escarpment just north of Indian Falls.

He reached Buffalo Creek in June, 1788, and found here a varied gathering of many nations. Amongst them he found acquaintances with whom he at once conferred, not only about the proposed land sale, but about the prospects for missionary work. The Board of Commissioners at Boston had taken this opportunity to acquire through him an intimate knowledge of conditions amongst the Senecas, and of the feeling towards missionary en-

deavor. He found the Senecas unresponsive towards his advances and averse to any missionary work.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Phelps reached the settlement and the council met to perfect the sale of the lands which he desired. During the council the Indians constantly appealed to Mr. Kirkland for aid in making a decision, and so powerful was his influence that Mr. Phelps was enabled to acquire title to all the lands east of the Genesee River, and a tract at the Falls on the west side of the Genesee, for \$5,000, and a rental of \$500 per year, to be paid forever. As tokens of appreciation of his services, Mr. Kirkland received large tracts of land as gifts from both Mr. Phelps and the Indians. The first payment for this tract was made August 1, 1789, when chiefs of the Six Nations met Mr. Phelps at Canandaigua. The Senecas were represented by Jack Berry.

This purchase thus harmoniously consummated, bade fair to be overturned, and that through no fault of either seller or buyer. Phelps and Gorham had stipulated in the purchase of the pre-emption right that the purchase money should be paid "in the public paper of the Commonwealth." At the time of purchase this had depreciated in value, but when payment became due, it had appreciated so rapidly that the purchasers were unable to meet their obligations and it was only through a compromise that they were able to secure any benefits from their work.

For two years after this sale the delimitations of the lands claimed by the various nations in New York were the subject of several conferences. Almost immediately after the return of Mr. Kirkland to Albany he was commissioned in September, 1788, to return to Buffalo Creek and invite the Senecas to a conference at Albany the following January. He reached Fort Erie in October where he met Skendyoughwatti (Owen Blacksnake) and

a week later he attended a council called by Farmer's Brother at Buffalo Creek. Here he presented a wampum belt inviting the Senecas to attend the conference.

The following April, at a council held at Buffalo Creek, the boundary between the Senecas and the Cayugas was placed at the east line of the Phelps purchase. A month later Peter Otsiquette arrived at Buffalo Creek with a message to the Onondagas and Cayugas inviting them to meet Governor Clinton at Fort Stanwix in June to fix a boundary between their lands.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIAN WARS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

In the peaceful and harmonious conference at Buffalo Creek there was at least one person who was interested in activities which led to a wide-spread war. This was Joseph Brant, who while at the conference confided to Mr. Kirkland a far-reaching plan for a great alliance of Indian nations, with a view of stopping the westward progress of the whites.

The treaty of 1783 which ended the Revolution gave the United States possession of a vast tract of land east of the Mississippi River. This was nominal only, for even before the end of the war various claimants were already quarreling about its ownership. Nearly all the original colonies claimed that the lands granted them by their charters reached at least as far as the Mississippi River, and maps of the period showed this trans-montane territory cut into narrow strips, each the width of a sea-board colony, which headed in the Atlantic Ocean and swept boldly back across uncharted areas to the Mississippi. Besides these claims, Virginia claimed all the lands northwest of the Ohio River, basing its claim upon the indubitable fact that her troops had conquered it.

Besides these vague and shadowy claims the western lands were claimed by the Indian tribes who were domiciled there. North of the Ohio these were Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares, and others, whose villages dotted the wide prairies and forests. But all these tribes were dominated by the Iroquois of New York, who by sheer prowess of war had overcome these tribesmen.

In addition to these numerous and insistent claimants, the British, although they had just ceded the lands to the United States, were loath to give them up and still retained posts there. They leagued themselves with the Indians, whose trade they desired, in an effort to keep them in possession of the lands.

Immediately after the end of the Revolution it became apparent to the people of the United States that these conflicting claims must eventually lead to disputes amongst the States of such a serious nature that the existence of the new republic might be threatened. Concessions by the states and wise legislation by Congress led to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 by which the states relinquished to the Nation their claims to most of the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. This simplified the problem by confining the claims to the United States and the Indians only.

The people themselves had not waited for the settlement of the disputes about ownership. While the negotiations were still going on which resulted in the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, emigrants began to pour westward into the fertile valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries. By flat-boat and pack-horse, by wagon-train and ox-team, they pushed into the wilderness of what is now the southern part of Ohio. Here they came at once into contact with the actual occupants of the lands, the Indians, who watched with alarm and hatred the influx of white intruders. Clashes were inevitable. Young warriors, eager for glory, found their opportunity in the unsuspecting emigrant trains and lonely log cabins of the whites upon which they pounced like hawks. Boats loaded with settlers and their impedimenta were lured to the shore where warriors lay in ambush. Men were shot and scalped in their fields, women at their cabin doors, and children carried away into captivity. The horrors of

Indian war hung like the wings of death over the streams and woodlands of the Ohio Valley.

In 1787 and 1788 the leaders of the Indians began to appreciate the seriousness to them of this influx of white settlers into their lands and the futility of attempting to check it by desultory raids. Of these leaders one of the most prominent was Joseph Brant. He was a war chief of the Mohawks, brother of Molly Brant the Indian wife of Sir William Johnson. He had received a good English education and was withal a man of really great ideas. During the Revolution he had led his Mohawks and others of the Confederacy on numerous raids against the border settlements, and after its close he had followed the English to Canada where his tribesmen were allotted lands on the Grand River. He remained a pensioner of the English Government and was always prominent in the border activities of the English.

In 1788 when the Rev. Mr. Kirkland visited Buffalo Creek as a Commissioner of Massachusetts to superintend the sale of the Seneca lands to Mr. Phelps, he met Brant, with whom he had been acquainted, and had a long conversation with him about the activities of the Indians in the West. Brant informed him then that twenty emissaries of the Iroquois had been for nearly a year and a half, and even then were, travelling amongst the Indian tribes of the Ohio country in an attempt to unite them into a great confederacy which might be powerful enough to withstand the increasing pressure of the whites.

Brant and the other leaders of this movement were aided rather openly by the English. These still retained possession of Detroit, Niagara and other frontier posts in the territory ceded to the United States, and the Indians still continued to use these posts as headquarters and bases of supply. From them went bands of warriors armed with English guns and encouraged by the

English commandants to harry the newly-established settlements on the Ohio. It was no mere indifference which prompted this attitude. Frequently it was active hostility, at the best thinly veiled, and sometimes quite open.

Contrasted with the active hostility of the English and Indians was the deprecatory and even cringing course adopted by Congress. Undoubtedly the country during the seven long years of the Revolution had become sated with warfare, and the country viewed with dismay and apprehension the more or less unauthorized invasion by its ruder members, of a territory which though nominally a part of the United States was still a hostile country, and particularly as this invasion seemed liable to bring on a recurrence of hostilities. Mainly its policy was to leave it alone and allow the stark backwoodsmen to work out their own safety in their own way, and they disregarded the continued tales of atrocities perpetrated on their own people in this border war.

When George Washington was elected President of the new Republic it seemed that this policy might be changed. Yet for a time a half-hearted defence was all that was attempted. In 1790 the Indians of the Ohio country, emboldened by a lack of adequate defence, had cut off bands of militia, captured supply trains after pitched battles, and besieged the settlers in their palisaded stations. Indians hitherto friendly had treacherously and without cause ravaged the upper Allegheny Valley, where they had always been upon the friendliest terms with the settlers. General Harmar had led a punitive force against the Miamis and after several skirmishes had burned some of their towns. But he was almost immediately forced to retire to the comparative safety of his fort at the mouth of the Muskingum.

If the policy of the United States toward the Ohio In-

dians was half-hearted, toward the Iroquois it was distinctly conciliatory. There was no doubt that warriors from Buffalo Creek and the Genesee were taking part in the outrages in Ohio, yet everything was done, not to punish them but to persuade them to remain friendly; and failing this, to keep them neutral. Yet so strong was the influence of Brant and the English, and so sullen the anger of the Iroquois towards their conquerors, that for a time it appeared that every effort must fail.

Although not officially involved, the Senecas on Buffalo Creek played an active part in the struggle. It was the policy of President Washington to secure the neutrality of the Senecas, and if possible, to induce them to act as intermediaries to bring about a peace. To secure these results, Colonel Thomas Proctor was sent in April, 1791, to convey to the Senecas the request of the President that they remain neutral and to urge them to send an embassy of peace to the Miamis.

Colonel Proctor first visited the village at Squaky Hill (Mount Morris), where he learned that contrary to his expectations no council had been called at Buffalo Creek. He then set out for Cornplanter's village on the Allegheny River. Arrived there he found that the preceding winter a Delaware party had treacherously raided the towns along the Allegheny and in revenge the whites had turned upon the Senecas of Cornplanter's village and Cornplanter and others had been obliged to take refuge in Fort Franklin for safety. Proctor went to the fort, met the chiefs there and delivered his message, at the same time urging them to join him in a visit to the Miamis, there to use their influence to prevent the depredations by Seneca warriors against the frontier. The chiefs refused, believing that this was a matter which could only be settled in council at Buffalo Creek.

Accompanied by Cornplanter, Colonel Proctor arrived

at Buffalo Creek on April 27th, and on the following day opened a council which had been hastily summoned. He read a letter from President Washington, one from the Secretary of War and a deed signed by the President restoring certain lands. At a meeting next day he announced his errand, and read a letter from the Secretary of War relative to the war on the Ohio frontier. Horatio Jones acted as interpreter.

In answer Red Jacket said the matter was so important that they would consider it, and would convene at Fort Niagara where Colonel Proctor should meet them. Believing correctly that the Senecas were dominated by the English, and that any decision made at the Fort must be made adversely, Proctor refused to meet them there. After a good deal of negotiation the council was finally convened on May 4th, "at the storehouse on Lake Erie." Colonel Proctor was not invited to attend, but he was invited to dine there with the English officers from the Fort.

It was not until May 15th that an answer was given. Meanwhile opinion amongst the Indians was adverse to any action tending to end the war, or even to their remaining neutral. The women, however, were in favor of a peace and it was from them that the final decision emanated. It was voiced by Red Jacket, the chosen speaker of the women. He announced that they had decided to remain neutral, and that a number of chiefs named by them should accompany him to the Miamis.

With such a satisfactory termination to his efforts Colonel Proctor set about seeking transportation for his delegation. He had planned and expected to charter a vessel from the English commandant at Fort Niagara. In this he could traverse Lake Erie as far as Sandusky on the Maumee River and thence by a short journey overland he could easily reach his destination. He wrote

the commandant for permission to use a vessel, but the permission was not granted. The delegation was unwilling to make the journey afoot, and so, his plans being totally disarranged, he unwillingly withdrew.

But this was not the end of the matter. In June, 1791, Timothy Pickering called a council at the Painted Post on the Chemung River. His object was to conciliate the Iroquois, assure them of the friendship of the United States and of their desire to remain at peace, and if possible to range them on the side of the United States. At this council it was arranged that certain chiefs were to visit the President and confer with him. In December the Secretary of War directed Mr. Kirkland to send runners to these chiefs inviting them to attend and a month later he directed him to endeavor to ascertain the result of this.

An invitation from the President! Can not you visualize the scene on our Creek? The long log council-house; the sluggish icy stream slipping past beneath its leaning basswoods; the wide crowded room with its benches in the middle; the huddled groups at the sides, men at one end, women at the other; the runner, worn and travel-stained; an interpreter—Parrish, is it?—reading the screed as he would a message wampum; the grave scrutiny of the chiefs.

In answer to the invitation a delegation filed away from Buffalo Creek on the long trails to Philadelphia, where they were urged to use their influence to bring about a peace between the Ohio Indians and the United States. This they agreed to do, but so loath were they that it was not until September, 1792, after a visit from General Chapin, the Indian Agent, that a delegation made the promised overtures. They proceeded to the hostile Indians, who received them cordially. They laid before them the desirability of a peace with the encroaching

whites, and so effective were their representations that the hostile Indians requested the Six Nations to inform the President that they would treat with him at the rapids of the Miami the following Spring and that they would cease fighting until that time.

In November the delegation returned to Buffalo Creek, where they made a report of their visit and its results to Israel Chapin, son of General Chapin, the Indian Agent to the Six Nations. This report was sent to Philadelphia by Jasper Parrish, the interpreter.

In pursuance of this invitation to confer Congress appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expense of negotiating with the hostiles. The President appointed General Benjamin Lincoln, Mr. Beverly Randolph and Mr. Timothy Pickering, Commissioners to treat with them. General Lincoln journeyed by way of Buffalo Creek where he arrived on June 11, 1793. He met the Senecas here in council and urged them to meet with the Commissioners and to use their influence to bring about a peace. He lodged in a cabin on Buffalo Creek for an evening, and witnessed an Indian dance, and on the following day after a breakfast of parched corn raised on our creek flats he departed for Niagara where he was to meet the others.

After a delay at Fort Niagara, the Commissioners arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, where they remained until August 17th. A great conference of Indians was being held on the Miami River, but the Indians would not allow the Commissioners to attend. They notified them, however, by runner, of the business of the meeting and at the end of their deliberations informed them that the Indians had decided that the boundary between them and the whites should be the Ohio River. The Commissioners replied by letter that they could not agree to this, and immediately departed for home.

While at the council at Buffalo Creek an English officer present made a sketch of the council showing an Indian orator addressing the Commissioners. This orator was a Mohawk, Flying Sky.

While all this diplomacy was being carried on with the Iroquois, the wretched military activities on the Ohio had culminated in an almost fatal disaster. General St. Clair had been put in command of an army which was intended to protect the settlers of Ohio. A campaign to punish and overawe the tribesmen was determined upon. Mismanagement and a lack of appreciation of the seriousness of the situation marked the campaign from the first. General St. Clair was a soldier trained in war as carried on by European armies, but he was untrained in forest warfare, and in spite of repeated warnings and admonitions by Washington himself and others, he made no effort to adapt himself to this new mode. His army was made up of untrained recruits taken from the towns, with a stiffening of a few regulars, and all were utterly unfamiliar with wilderness ways. As a result, after a long march in the winter of 1791 the army was surprised by an overwhelming force of Indians and disastrously routed. All that saved it from total annihilation was the attraction of St. Clair's well-stocked camp, for looting this proved more attractive to the Indian victors than pursuing and slaughtering fleeing Americans.

The effect of this disaster upon the Indians was immediate. The boasts of the victorious bands were substantiated by huge quantities of loot taken from St. Clair's camp. Scalps there were in plenty, and glory for every warrior. The tribes which had been wavering in their decision at once joined the victors. Many of the Senecas of Buffalo Creek had undoubtedly taken part in

the battle and the whole body seemed determined to cast in their lot against the United States.

The disaster had its effect upon the English allies of the Indians also. Their hostility became more and more open until it culminated in February of 1794 when Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, in a speech to some Indian chiefs, told them that he would not be surprised to see the United States and England at war within the year, and intimated that the Indians might expect aid from the English in establishing a line of demarkation between them and the United States. Copies of this speech were widely distributed amongst the Indians. In April of 1794, Lieutenant Colonel John Butler addressed a meeting of chiefs "near Buffalo," probably at Buffalo Creek, and delivered the speech to them, at the same time warning them to prepare for it by calling in all their people who might be scattered about the country.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TREATY OF 1794.

Seemingly in accordance with the policy of the United States of securing and holding the friendship of the Six Nations or at least their neutrality in the war with the Ohio Indians, a great council was convened in 1794 at Canandaigua. Timothy Pickering, United States Agent, presided, and his intent was, by means of a treaty, to remove as far as possible all cause of dissatisfaction and secure official action expressing the friendship of the Six Nations and the United States. A combination of conditions enabled him to fulfill his purpose most happily.

A large number of Indians presented themselves at the rendezvous—1800, it is said. Some of the leading chiefs, of whom Brant was one, had refused to attend, and it was pretty generally understood that this was due to the influence of English officers at Fort Niagara. The policy of the British Government seems to have been to prevent any action which might ally the Iroquois with the United States, and these agents were active in their efforts to induce the Six Nations to refuse all overtures of peace. It was well known also that the continued successes of the Ohio Indians against the United States troops, especially the defeat of St. Clair's force, had decided the Senecas, at least, to espouse actively the cause of the Ohio Indians, and to take up the hatchet once more against the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. The settlers, especially those just arrived in the Phelps and Gorham tract, were apprehensive and alarmed.

This determination, due partly to English influence, but more undoubtedly to the belief that the United States was too weak to subdue such a powerful coalition of Indians, was abruptly changed. General Wayne, who succeeded General St. Clair in command in Ohio, met the hostile tribesmen, and in a fierce fought battle at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee River, under the walls of an English fort there, decisively crushed them. The news of this defeat reached the Senecas almost immediately, evidently either by warriors actually engaged in the battle, or by runners who were in touch with the Indian forces. At any rate, the news reached them before it reached the whites. Mr. O. H. Turner states that Mr. William Ewing, who had been sent by Mr. Chapin, the Indian Agent, to bring Brant to Canandaigua, had just reached Fort Erie when General Simcoe, Governor of Canada, called a council there of Senecas from Buffalo Creek. They were told of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, and immediately after, Red Jacket assured Mr. Ewing that the Senecas would attend at Canandaigua.

The English agents did not, however, cease their efforts to influence the Senecas. When these appeared in council they were accompanied by William Johnston, who acted as interpreter. Johnston was an officer in the English army, who then and later had immense influence over the Buffalo Creek Senecas. So evident were his designs that Mr. Pickering flatly refused to admit him to any meeting and took such a firm stand that Johnston was finally excluded.

Immediately after this an Indian runner brought to Mr. Pickering the news of Wayne's victory, which he at once communicated to the council. The news of their overthrow, coming at this psychological moment, coupled with Mr. Pickering's firm stand in regard to Johnston, engendered in the chiefs present a much more respectful

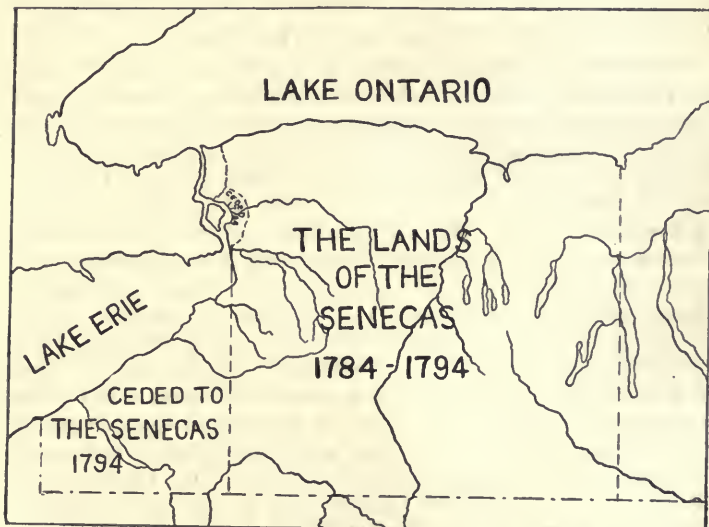
attitude, and in conjunction with Mr. Pickering's conciliatory and tactful manner, served to bring about a harmonious and friendly discussion.

As a result, a treaty was signed by the chiefs. Peace and friendship were expressly stipulated. The United States guaranteed them the right to occupy and own their lands until they themselves chose to sell them. New limits were set to the Seneca lands by which their territory was enlarged. By the Fort Stanwix treaty in 1784 their western boundary in New York was to be a line drawn from the mouth of Buffalo Creek due south to the Pennsylvania line. The new boundary delineated in the Canandaigua treaty was as follows:

The land of the Seneca Nation is bounded as follows: Beginning on Lake Ontario, at the northwest corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps, the line runs westerly along the lake as far as O-yong-wong-yeh Creek at Johnson's Landing Place, about four miles eastward from the fort at Niagara; thence southerly up that creek to its main fork; then straight to the main fork of Steadman's Creek, which empties into the river Niagara about Fort Schosser and then onward from that fork, continuing the same straight course to that river (this line from the mouth of O-yong-wong-yeh Creek to the river Niagara, above Fort Schosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land extending from the same line to Niagara river which the Seneca Nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnson): then the line runs along the river Niagara to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie to the northeast corner of a triangular piece of land which the United States conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania as by the President's patent dated the third day of March 1792; then due south to the northern boundary of that State; then due east to the southwest corner of the land sold by the Seneca Nation to Oliver Phelps; and then north and northerly along Phelps's line to the place of beginning on Lake Ontario.

Besides the delimitation of their lands the Six Nations were allowed "in consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established," goods to the value of \$10,000, and an annuity of \$3,000 added to that which they had previously been receiving.

The lands of the Senecas, thus finally delimited, comprised all that portion of New York State west of the Genesee River and a line drawn from the confluence of the Canaseraga and Genesee, due south to the Pennsylvania line. Two tracts were not included in this. One was the Mill tract on the western side of the Genesee River at Rochester, the other the tract four miles wide on the eastern bank of the Niagara, granted to Sir William Johnson. All this domain was to "remain theirs until they should choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase."



The Lands of the Senecas defined in the Treaties of 1784 and 1794.

This treaty was so eminently satisfactory to the Senecas, the desire of the United States to be just, so evident, and Mr. Pickering's manner so conciliatory, that from that time the allegiance of these tribesmen was transferred from their long-time allies, the English, to the United States; and it has never since wavered.

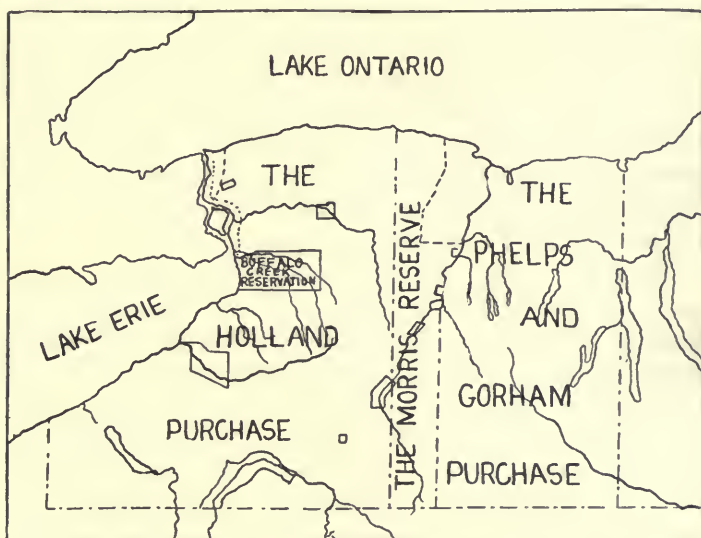
CHAPTER X.

THE HOLLAND PURCHASE.

It will be remembered that when Massachusetts had received in its compromise with New York the pre-emptive right to the lands of western New York, it had immediately sold this right to Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, representing a company. Mr. Phelps had soon after met the Indian owners of the land at Buffalo Creek and had there purchased from them all that portion east of the Genesee River and a line drawn from the confluence of the Canaseraga and Genesee, due south to the Pennsylvania line. When the time of payment to Massachusetts was due Phelps and Gorham were unable to make their payments, and Massachusetts brought suit against them.

Before any action was taken another purchaser for the lands appeared. This was Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia. In the bargaining which followed, Phelps and Gorham retained that portion of the land east of the Genesee, the Indian claim to which they had already extinguished. The remaining portion they re-conveyed to Massachusetts, which in 1791, in consideration of \$225,000, conveyed the pre-emptive right to Mr. Morris. This tract, comprising all western New York, was conveyed to Mr. Morris in five deeds; and of these five parcels, he sold in 1793, four, comprising 3,600,000 acres to Herman LeRoy and others, trustees for a party of capitalists in Amsterdam, Holland, reserving one parcel next the Phelps tract for himself. It was stipulated that Mr. Morris should extinguish the Indian claim to the tract thus purchased.

The task of purchasing these lands from their Seneca owners was assigned to Mr. Thomas Morris, son of Robert Morris. The lands conveyed in the five parcels comprised all the lands which in the Canandaigua Conference the following year were allotted to the Seneca Nation, and it was with the chiefs of this nation that Mr. Morris must negotiate. During the following three years he personally visited the leading Seneca chiefs, and finally persuaded them to meet in council at Big Tree's village near the present Geneseo, to consider the sale of their lands.



The Land Purchases in Western New York, showing the Reservation at Buffalo Creek.

The conference was convened in September, 1797. Besides the Morris, there were present Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth, United States Commissioner, and Mr. William Shepherd, Commissioner representing Massachusetts.

From the beginning the sachems and chiefs opposed

the sale of their lands. So unanimous was this opposition that Red Jacket finally kicked out the council-fire and dissolved the council. Morris however, not entirely hopeless, then negotiated with the women and the warriors, and through their efforts the council-fire was re-kindled and the conference continued. As a result, the Senecas sold their entire holdings in New York to Robert Morris, exempting, however, from the sale certain tracts for their own use. These tracts were called reservations, one being the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The land exempted by the Senecas was divided into parcels, each surrounding, or adjacent to, certain existing villages of the Senecas, and each was to accommodate the inhabitants of these villages. Part of these reserved lands lay in the Genesee Valley where many of the Senecas were still domiciled. Others were established in Western New York where, as has already been shown, numerous settlements existed.

The Genesee reservations were strung like beads along the Genesee River. At the present village of Avon, the village of Canawaugus was allotted two square miles. Little Beard's town, Chenussio, at the present village of Moscow, received two square miles. At Squawky Hill, the present Mount Morris, two square miles were laid off in a rectangle which had a mile frontage on the Genesee. A well-defined but unmeasured parcel was laid out at Gardeau; and the village of Caneadea, which straggled along the east side of the Genesee nearly from the present Caneadea, to the present village of Houghton, was allowed a frontage on the river of eight miles with a depth of two miles.

Much larger tracts were exempted in western New York. To accommodate the villages at the Cattaraugus Creek, a tract was reserved along the shore of Lake Erie from the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek (Koghquauga)

to the mouth of the Canadaway Creek above Dunkirk, with a depth of a mile, and besides, there were two prolongations; one twelve miles long and a mile wide up the Cattaraugus; the other, one mile long and a mile wide up Canadaway Creek. The villages at the great bend of the Allegheny River received a tract of forty-two square miles, and two hundred square miles were to be allotted partly at Buffalo Creek, partly at Tonawanda Creek. Besides these which were definitely mentioned in the contract, there were two parcels which the Senecas later claimed to have been exempted, but which did not appear in the deed. These parcels, which later were to cause some dispute, were the tracts surrounding the Tuscarora village above Lewiston, and a small tract containing a certain well-known oil spring near the present village of Cuba.

After the deed had been recorded, the discovery was made that no provision had been made for the Tuscaroras who, at that time, were well established in a village on the Mountain Ridge about half way between Lewiston and Pekin. They expostulated with the Senecas, whose relation to them in the National Council of the Confederacy was as father to an adopted son. Realizing the omission, the Senecas executed a deed, March 30, 1808, by Cornplanter, Farmer's Brother, Halftown, Red Jacket and others, giving the Tuscaroras a square mile of land surrounding their village. This deed, now recorded in the County Clerk's office of Niagara County, recites that this tract has been reserved at the sale of lands. No such exemption occurs in the deed, but to avoid any trouble, the Holland Land Company ratified this grant and added two square miles in addition.

For many years, a spring which oozed from the side of a steep hill a short distance northwest of the present village of Cuba, had been widely known amongst the

Indians because of the medicinal quality of the petroleum which covered the waters. After the sale of their land the Senecas continued to resort there, and always considered it their property. Eventually, buildings were erected there by a white man named Paterson. Action was brought to eject him, and this was finally decided in favor of the Senecas. This decision was due to a deposition made by an aged Seneca named Blacksnake, who produced a map which he claimed had been given to the Seneca sachems by Joseph Ellicott, defining the reservations, amongst which marked in red, was the Oil Spring. This map is now on file in the office of the County Clerk of Cattaraugus County.

There is no doubt that all these reservations were thus located because of pre-existent Seneca villages there. The villages in the Genesee Valley had been occupied for the best part of a century and were well known and seemingly of long duration. The Allegheny Valley was dotted with Seneca villages from at least as far up as the Tunaengwant Creek, where stood the village of that name mentioned by Mary Jemison as existing there before the Revolution. Below this, there were villages in New York as far as the state line, and beyond this, numerous colonies stretched from Buccaloons, near the mouth of the Little Brokenstraw Creek, to a point well below Pittsburgh. These villages as far north as Buccaloons, had been destroyed in 1777 by Colonel Broadhead, who had coöperated with General Sullivan in the destruction of the Seneca towns. The reservation of the Allegheny covered as many of these villages as existed inside New York State. Pennsylvania had already granted to Cornplanter a small reservation just south of the line surrounding his village there.

The Tuscarora Reservation is identical with the territory occupied by old Neuter villages, the most eastern

Harbours
Lake

of which is now marked by a site locally known as Kienuka, on the Williams Farm near the Dickersonville road. There had been, evidently, clearings along the brow of the escarpment at this point from the days of the Neuters; and when the Tuscaroras, after the terrible winter of 1779, cast about for a new place of settlement, they selected the land immediately about this ancient village site and this served as the nucleus of the land later reserved for them.

The valley of the Tonawanda seems to have been inhabited by Seneca Indians for a long time previous to the Revolution. Pouchot's map shows a village at the bend of the Tonawanda Creek, but of this early occupation, nothing at all is now known.

As has already been said, the valley of Buffalo Creek had been the seat of a numerous population at least since late pre-historic times and evidently the clearings made by the villages of the Wenros were reoccupied, at times at least, by the Senecas, who certainly made some permanent villages there. Nearly all these villages were included in the tract allotted as the Buffalo Creek Reservation. One village, however, that at South Wales, was so far removed from the others that it was not included in the reservation.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

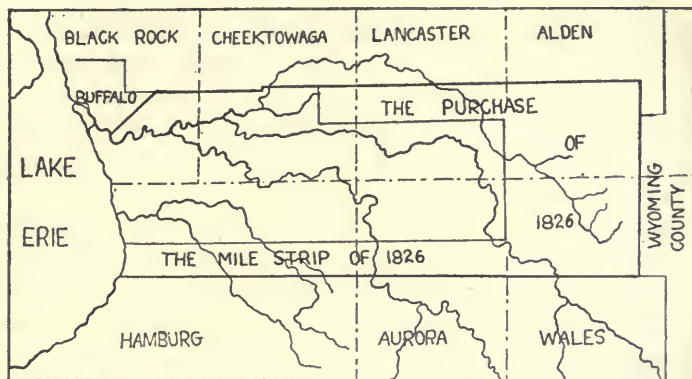
Of all the tracts reserved from the Morris purchase, that on the Buffalo Creek was the largest. Unlike the reservations on the Genesee, no definite boundaries had been set in the deed of 1797 limiting it, and even the size was indefinite, the extent of this and the Tonawanda Reservation having been included in one item of two hundred square miles.

In October, 1798, it was laid out by Mr. Augustus Porter, under the direction of Joseph Ellicott, while surveying the Holland Land Company's tract; and it appears on Ellicott's map of 1802. Eight years later, its boundaries were noted in a deed (No. 1, of deeds, Erie County Clerk's office, page 68) given by the Holland Company, conveying to David Ogden, the lands of the reservation as follows:

Boundaries of the Buffalo Creek Reservation: On the north in part by lands now or late belonging to William Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Peter Van Eghen, Hendrik Vollenhoven and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, designated on said map as township No. 11 of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th ranges, and in part by land now or late belonging to William Welling (*sic*), Jan. Willink, William Willink, the younger, Jan. Willink, the younger; on the east in part by the said township No. 11 of the 5th range and township No. 10 of the 4th range, also now or late belonging to William Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Peter Van Eghen, Hendrik Vollenhoven, Rutger Van Schimmelpenninck; on the north (*sic*) by township No. 9 of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th ranges, and in part by lands now or late belonging to said William Willink, Jan. Willink, William Willink, the younger, and Jan. Willink, the younger, and westerly by in part by a small strip of land lying between the premises hereby intended to be described, and Lake Erie; and northeasterly by the above mentioned township No.

11 of the 8th range containing eighty-three thousand and five hundred and fifty-seven (83557) acres, be the same more or less.

The east line of the Reservation thus described is in the east boundary of Erie County, lying between Marilla and Bennington, Wyoming County, and in a small part of Alden.



The Buffalo Creek Reservation, showing original boundaries and the purchase of 1826.—From *Burr's N. Y. Atlas*, 1841.

The south line is in the southern boundaries of Elma and Marilla, and in the Benzing road at Webster's Corners, at East Hamburg, and in the southern boundaries of lots 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 10, 1 in West Seneca.

The north line is in the northern boundary of the southern tiers of lots of Alden, the southern tiers of lots of Lancaster and Cheektowaga, to a point in lot 15, in Cheektowaga, thence south to William Street, and west on William Street to Lewis Street, where it bends to the southwest.

This differs from the boundaries originally intended in that the northern line, which was to have been run due west so that the line of the New York reservation should be within the tract thus reserved, was bent at an angle to the southwest, so as to leave the mouth of the

creek outside of the reservation. This change was due to the perspicacity of Joseph Ellicott, who foresaw the future importance of Buffalo River as a port and the necessity of having its control in the hands of the whites. To secure the consent of the Senecas to this change, he engaged the services of Captain Johnston, heretofore mentioned, who had great influence with the Senecas. He had received from the Senecas a grant of land two miles square at the mouth of the river and had built thereon a house. Through his efforts the Senecas consented to change the boundary, and this change is noted in the deed of 1810, bounding the tract. The westerly boundary is "In part by a small strip of land lying between the premises hereby intended to be described and Lake Erie." This small strip was the somewhat triangular parcel lying between the lake, the New York State Reservation and the Buffalo Creek Reservation. A small strip indeed, but it was the most important of the lands thus deeded.

In its changed form, the Buffalo Creek Reservation appears on a modern map of western New York as a broad strip running east and west entirely across Erie County. Its eastern line is mainly in the line between Wyoming and Erie counties, between the townships of Marilla and Bennington. A short portion is in the town of Alden in the western line of lots 9 and 10.

Its southern line is in the southern boundaries of the towns of Marilla and Elma and in the northern line of lots 72, 64, 8, 16, 24, 32, and 40 running through Webster's Corners and keeping on the Benzing road to East Hamburg and north lines of lots 48, 56, 8, 16 and 24 of Hamburg. It strikes the lake shore at Bay View.

The western boundary was the water line of Lake Erie from Bay View to a point on the beach just west of a bridge over the ship canal at the foot of Louisiana Street. This is the eastern end of the south line of lot 50, and

also of the line of the old First ward of Buffalo. From this point, the reservation line runs in this line of lot 50 to the creek, thence keeping, seemingly, to the left or south bank, it follows the creek bank to a point in lot 65, whence it crossed the creek. From this point, it lies in the line of the old First ward to the foot of Porter street. From Porter Street, the line is the east line of the old First ward to the corner of Eagle Street and Fillmore Avenue, thence to a point on William Street near the corner of Metcalf Street.

This line is indicated in the "Village of Black Rock, Street Record, 14," in the authorization of a survey of a road to Hamburg Street, "on the Indian reservation line north forty-six degrees, eighty-one chains to angle in Indian reservation line, thence east ninety-nine chains to town of Amherst, four rods wide, two rods on each side of the Indian reservation line, this declared to be a public highway."

In 1835, this road was surveyed and established from Buffalo Creek, four rods wide on the Indian reservation line, north forty-five degrees, forty-six and nine-tenths chains to Elk Street, thence forty-three chains to Seneca Street, thence eighty-one chains to William Street, thence east ninety-nine chains to the town line of Amherst.

Later this line was centered in "Ferry Street" which included the section of the highway authorized above, from Elk Street to William Street at the angle of the reservation line. In 1856 the Buffalo City records show that a road laid out in 1835 along the Indian reservation line from Abbott Road to Buffalo Creek was declared a public highway, called Ferry Street. This appears to be occupied now by the Erie Railway. From the Abbott Road the line now seems to be in the Erie Railway's tracks as far as a curve at Fitzgerald Street, which was originally intended to be laid out from Elk Street to the

City Line or to Ferry Street parallel to Hamburg Street. At Fitzgerald Street the line seems to be in or near a spur of the Erie Railway running into the furnaces of the Buffalo Union Iron Works.

The northern line of the reservation seems to be in William Street as far as the junction of this street and a road at lot 15 in Cheektowaga. The line then turns to the northeast corner of lot 64 thence due east to the northeast corner of lot 23 in Alden, the place of beginning.

Of the tracts thus reserved by the Senecas to accommodate their people, that at Buffalo Creek was by far the largest and most important, and it is probable that the main body of Senecas were here resident at that time. No records are available of the number living here at the time of its exemption, and it was not until 1817 that even an approximate estimate of the number was made. In that year the Rev. Timothy Alden visited the Reservation and reported that there was "about seven hundred Senecas, sixteen Munsees, some Onondagas and Cayugas and some Squakies." The identity of these "Squakies" is unknown or at least problematical. They seem to have been part or all of a band which at one time lived at Mount Morris, at "Squaky Hill." Attempts have been made to identify them with a captive colony of Sacs or Sauks from Michigan. Attempts have also been made to identify them with the "Squawkihows" of one of the Iroquois traditions, and to identify these with "Kah-Kwahs," but as the identity of these latter is also unknown this identification fails.

By Munsees Mr. Alden must have meant Delaware Indians, of whom the Munsees (Minsis) were one branch. He was very familiar with most of the tribes of the eastern United States and was probably entirely correct in noting this band of Delawares on Buffalo Creek. It is possible that these were part of a band under "Captain

Smoke" which fled from the Ohio country in 1791 and sought refuge at Buffalo Creek. Colonel Proctor mentions a council here when he visited Buffalo Creek in May of that year, called to allot lands to this band. Their decision was, however, to locate them on the Cattaraugus, and a Delaware village certainly was located there, near the present Thomas School, in 1802.

On the other hand, another band of refugees, also allotted lands on Buffalo Creek at that council are unaccounted for on Mr. Alden's list. This was a band of Mississaugas (Chipeways), the families of Connondoghta and Bear Oil, which had fled from Conyatt, Ohio. This band seems identical with one which lived for a time on a sandy knoll crowning a high bluff in a bend of Conneaut River, just opposite the present Conneaut. There was an embankment there, and there still exist traces of Indian occupancy. Local tradition ascribes this site to a band of Mississaugas. In 1789 there was an Indian village there called by the French "*Villejoye*."

There seems to have been a small band of Stockbridge Indians, Mahicans from the Hudson, located on the Reservation. The only knowledge of these is the fact that the east part of Ebenezer is said by Mr. Marshall to have been called Sha-ga-na-ga-geh, "The place of the Stockbridges."

The Onondagas seem to have formed a relatively large group, and to have comprised a large part of the Onondaga Nation. Colonel Proctor visited their village in 1791 and noted that it consisted of twenty-eight good cabins. Their chief was Big Sky, or Clear Sky.

This diverse population was loosely grouped about certain centers. Although the entire reservation was dotted with scattered cabins and clearings, at certain places these were clustered into groups large enough to be considered villages. Mainly these centered about the

homes of prominent persons and many took their English names from these persons. Thus, the village at Gardenville was Jack Berry's town, just as two villages on the Genesee were Big Tree's and Little Beard's villages, and just as a century before the villages in which Father Fremin lived was called by him Ononkenritouai, after the chief who lived there.

Of these clusters of houses, villages, so called, the most prominent seems to have been that which surrounded the home of Red Jacket. This group straggled along the paths which are now Seneca Street and Indian Church Road, mainly centered about the present Seneca Indian Park. Here, at least in later years, was their cemetery and here were built their mission house, school and church. All these occupied the slightly elevation upon which still stood the embankment marking an ancient Wenro fortified town. Through this group ran the main path from the Lake to the upper valley of Cazenovia Creek, which met at this point a path which led from Jack Berry's town and the upper valley of Buffalo Creek.

The group called Jack Berry's town centered about the home of a half-breed of that name, or in Seneca Do-eh-saw, who had come from Little Beard's town on the Genesee and reared his home on the bank of Buffalo Creek at what is now Gardenville.

On Buffalo Creek above Berry's town there were several clusters of cabins. One of these at what is now Blossom was called Dyo-nah-da-eeh, "hemlock elevation." Another was at the present Elma village, and another at East Elma. At this latter place lived chief Big Kettle, who had removed hither from Squaky Hill, and several other prominent men. A nearly forgotten cemetery near East Elma is the last resting-place of many of these.

On Cazenovia Creek there was one group, at the ford, now the bridge, connecting Potter Road and Seneca

Street, a mile west of Ebenezer. This in 1791 was Big Sky's village of Onondagas, which straggled along the paths, from what is now the "Red Bridge" on Potter Road to the ford. On the east bank of the creek stood the council house of the Six Nations, and on a terrace on the opposite side of the creek was their cemetery.

The Cayugas who in 1779 had joined the Senecas in their flight from their ruined homes seem to have established themselves in a straggling village on Cayuga Creek at the extreme northern edge of the Reservation, at the corner of William Street and Cayuga Road.

Besides these clusters there were innumerable cabins scattered along the creeks, mostly on the terraces or higher lands above flood level. A few of these were homes of prominent people. Thus, chief Pollard lived on a terrace, on or near the site of the ancient village on the farm of Mr. Hart on the Potter Road, and chief Silverheels lived on what was later the Twichell farm on Abbott Road, near Cazenovia Park.

CHAPTER XII.

HOME LIFE ON THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

During the century which had elapsed since Governor Denonville had burned the long bark houses in the Seneca villages of Canagora and Totiakton material changes had taken place in Seneca architecture. The long communal house, built of bark and capable of housing many families, was giving place to small houses designed for one family only, and many of these were well built of hewn logs or even mill-sawed lumber after the pattern of the better class of pioneer structures.

Just when or how this change was accomplished is unknown, but that it was gradual is certain. Probably the increasing familiarity of the Senecas with the English and Dutch in the Hudson River settlements, and the establishment in the Seneca country at Geneva of an English trading-post with a few European houses, had their gradual influence upon the thought of the three generations of Senecas which bridged the century between 1687 and 1780. It is certain that communal bark houses were in use as late as 1779 in the Allegheny Valley, where they were found and described by Colonel Brodhead. He reported that in some towns he found houses large enough to accommodate three or four families but that the greatest part of the Indian houses were of square or round logs and framework.

In the Genesee country the better houses seem to have been the rule. General Sullivan's army found many of the villages made up of log houses. At "Chemoung," a town 15 miles up the "Cayouga" branch of the Susque-

hanna River, they found "forty houses built chiefly with split and hewn timbers covered with bark and some other rough materials without chimneys or floors."

A curious survival of the long house was to be seen in the council house of the Tonawanda band of Senecas as late as 1818. In that year the Rev. Timothy Alden attended a meeting there and considered the building interesting enough to describe:

The council house is fifty feet long and twenty wide. On each side of it longitudinally is a platform a little more than one foot high and four feet wide, covered with furs which furnish a convenient place for sitting, lounging and sleeping. . . . Over the platform is a kind of gallery, five or six feet from the floor, which is loaded with peltry, corn, implements of hunting and a variety of other articles. At each end of the building is a door, and near each door within, was a council fire, which would have been comfortable for the coldest weather in winter, but at this time, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer must have ranged from eighty to ninety degrees, was very oppressive. Over each fire several large kettles of soup were hanging and boiling. The smoke was conveyed away through apertures in the roof and did not annoy.

This description would have fitted almost exactly a long house inhabited by Senecas a century before.

Contrasted with this rather primitive type of house, the council-house of the Senecas on the Buffalo Creek at that time was quite modern. Mr. Alden described it as being 42 feet long and 18 feet wide, well made of hewn logs, shingled and glazed, and provided with seats and a good chimney.

During the last years of the Buffalo Creek Reservation many of the Seneca houses were of framed construction, evidently equal in all respects to those of the whites near by. Several of these are noted on the survey of improvements made by Mr. Sperry in 1844 as being near the Indian Church.

The change from the communal long house to the log

or frame house inhabited by a single family must have had a strong effect upon the life of the Senecas. In the old days a long house might have contained twenty or more families, each domiciled in one or more cubicles formed by building two partitions of bark from the outer wall of the house inward to the corridor which ran from end to end of the house. Each cubicle was open at the side next to the corridor, and was furnished with low platforms raised above the floor and stored with furs. On these the family slept. Overhead was a rack or low open loft for the storage of corn, peltry and all spare articles. On the earthen floor in the corridor were fires for cooking or heat. Smoke was supposed to go out of holes in the roof.

Each house was built by, and was inhabited by, women of one clan and their children of the same clan, with their husbands who belonged to some other clan. These were presided over by some matron of the house; and everything in it or entering it was, theoretically and even in actual practice, in common, excepting possibly a few personal articles. All the women of the house united in cultivating their fields and doing the simple housework necessary.

Life in the single family house must have presented great contrasts to this. The single house was made of logs which were too heavy for women to handle, therefore the men were constrained to build the cabins. The idea of clan relationship would suffer by the change. Instead of a long house with many persons of one clan with very few outsiders, there was the single house with one family of two clans. Life thus became based upon the family idea rather than the clan idea.

The old idea of a village was a small group of long communal houses surrounded by wide cultivated fields. Of this type were such villages as Totiakton of 1677,

which had 120 houses, some being 50 or 60 feet long with 12 or 13 fires in each. After the adoption of the single house each family was inclined to separate from the others, clear a space for its field and there build a house. Villages of the type of Totiakton were thus impossible. This led the way to individual ownership rather than communal life.

The old idea of the fire on the floor and a hole in the roof survived, as was seen by Mr. Alden in the Tonawanda Council House, yet at the same time the Buffalo Creek Council House had its fires in fire-places at the ends with chimneys. A survival of the old type is to be seen in the cooking house attached to one of the council houses on the Grand River in Canada and to that at Newtown on the Cattaraugus. In both these a hole in the roof allows the smoke to escape from the fire beneath.

The adoption of the frame house brought the necessity of saw-mills, and several of these were established at an early period. Of these the Hemstreet mill at East Elma was a type. This supplied not only the better class of Indians with lumber, but took their timber at a fair price, sawed it and sold it to the settlers off the Reservation.

The Senecas had always been farmers, and their farm products constituted their main source of food, supplemented by such animal food as could be secured by their hunters in the nearby forests and waters. At their new settlements on the Buffalo Creek their farms continued to be the chief source of their food.

In the narrative of the Gilbert family mention was made of how the Seneca refugees to Buffalo Creek began their farming operations. The women of the family cleared their land of underbrush while the men hacked or burned down the forest trees which shaded the ground. Amongst the stumps in the virgin soil thus

prepared the women planted corn, squashes, beans, pumpkins and potatoes. The women of the family then undertook the work of caring for the crop. In the new soil which was not yet infested by weeds this would have been no great task. So slight a task was it that Elizabeth Peart was assigned the task of caring for a crop of corn during the entire summer, although she was seriously ill much of the time. All the work of breaking the ground, planting and tilling the crops would probably have been done with hoes. In the old days these would have been blades of flat bones, of antler or stone, fastened by thongs, adze fashion, upon wooden handles. These had long since been supplanted by light iron or steel blades helved like our old-fashioned "German hoes." These were imported by the Senecas as early at least as 1700, for on the village sites of that period and later they are rather abundant. The refugees on Buffalo Creek would hardly have brought hoes with them from their Genesee homes, and so must have been dependent for these upon the English at Fort Niagara. In 1781 Abner Gilbert mentioned that he accompanied an officer to Buffalo Creek where he distributed hoes to the settlers. Yet there is little doubt that many of the women resorted to the ancient home-made tools.

The corn crop was gathered by the women. This would have been done in their accustomed manner, by walking through the ripened crop, pulling the ears from the stalks and throwing them into baskets slung over their shoulders. These ears would then have been braided together and suspended from the rafters of their home. Later they would be shelled and the corn parched or pounded into meal or hulled for hominy.

The beans and squash or pumpkins would have been planted amongst the corn and cultivated with it. The crop of "potatoes" mentioned in the Gilbert narrative is

the first and, I think, the only one ever mentioned in connection with the Senecas of this period. Whether they were our white potatoes, or wild tubers, "artichokes," (*helianthus tuberosa*) is a question, but judging from the context, they probably were our white potatoes.

The Gilberts mentioned especially the journey which their whole family made to a maple grove up the lake. Here they stayed for several weeks making maple sugar.

The vegetable products would have been supplemented by such animal food as their hunters and fishermen could provide. In the unexhausted forests and streams about them, the hunters could and probably did find an abundant supply of fresh food, far more than their families were accustomed to in their Genesee Valley homes. Fish and wild fowl especially must have been abundant in their season. Wild pigeons, passenger pigeons seemingly, were a source of abundant food. The Gilbert children were detained for some time after their release was ordered because news had been received of a great pigeon roost fifty miles away which the men of their family promptly visited. In 1791 Colonel Proctor was feasted at the Onondaga village of Big Sky, at the ford of Cazenovia Creek, on Potter Road. The principal food consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed. "Their method of dishing them up was that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outward; they were plucked, but of their pin feathers, there were plenty remained; the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them that water had not touched them before." He spoke of pigeon roosts near the village, and mentioned seeing a basket full of squabs in one house. Of these he said: "These they commonly take when just prepared to leave the nest and as fat as is possible for them to be

made; when after they are plucked and cleaned a little, they are preserved by smoke and laid by for use."

Deer and bear seem to have been fairly abundant. Mr. Orlando Allen in the later days of the Reservation, on a ride to the Onondaga village, surprised a buck in an open glade just beyond the Indian church. He was so engrossed in feeding that he failed to hear the horse's approach and Mr. Allen was able to gallop alongside him and strike him with his whip. Immediately afterwards he encountered an Indian hunter armed with bow and arrows, who upon hearing of the buck, promptly set off on his track. Mr. Allen mentions the appearance of a swarm of black squirrels and says that Indian boys killed hundreds of them with bows and arrows.

A century and a half of contact with Europeans had almost entirely abolished the ancient methods of fashioning clothing from peltry, and had made the Senecas dependent upon the weavers of Europe for the materials wherewith to make their clothes.

In the primitive times antedating the advent of the European traders, the Senecas probably used clothing as the Neuters certainly did, only for warmth but not at all for the sake of decency, and seldom for adornment. Consequently in hot weather they wore a minimum of clothing. For warmth in winter a robe of fur sufficed the men, supplemented by a pair of moccasins and leggings. These latter were worn at all seasons for protection. No description of a Seneca woman's ancient costume is available. Undoubtedly however, their clothing was of fur or of skin, prepared after the Indian fashion, and of a mode similar to that of later days. Certainly the women were clever workers in fur and skin, and there is no doubt that their clothing would have been ornamented by pleasing designs applied in colored moose-hair or porcupine quills.

In making clothing from skins, the Indian women used chert blades for cutting them into shape, and awls and flat needles made of bone with sinew thread, for sewing them.

More efficient tools for dressmaking were imported very early, and in the early lists of trade articles appear large invoices of awl blades, needles and shears. These are still often found in refuse earth or graves of the early sites.

From the very beginning of their intercourse with Europeans the Senecas bought cloth, mainly duffles, strouds, osnabrigs, and later even laces and broadcloth. These goods were taken to their villages, there to be made up into clothing.

After the introduction of cloth, the Seneca women made their clothes from this, seemingly following the patterns of their previous skin garments, and these modes seem to have persisted until the Reservation days.

The clothing of this period is best illustrated by the articles of clothing collected by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan and deposited in the State Museum, and pictured in use by Mr. and Mrs. Mountpleasant. Distinctive features of the costumes of both men and women were the leggings. These have persisted amongst the older women until the present day.

Along with the cloth imported to be made up into garments the traders brought in made-up garments. These were mainly knitted stockings and caps, and heavy blankets. These latter took the place of the fur robes as outer garments.

There exist several minute descriptions of the dress of the Senecas on the Reservation. At the conference of 1791, Young King appeared in the full uniform of an English colonel. Colonel Proctor speaks of the fine appearance of the Onondaga women, some of whom were dressed in silken strouds ornamented with silver trap-

pings. He estimated the value of one suit at about thirty pounds sterling.

Intercourse with Europeans had wrought a very material change in the adornments of the persons and clothing of the Senecas. Before the advent of the traders, their ornaments were few and extremely primitive. Judging only from the contents of their refuse heaps, their ornaments consisted only of a few beads and pendants rudely fashioned from bone, from the teeth of animals and from stone. None of these were colored, and for color they must have been confined to a few simple dyes applied to the skins from which they made their clothing. It is no wonder, therefore, that they eagerly bought the really beautiful, highly-colored glass beads, the shining kettles of yellow brass and the beautifully colored blankets and fabrics imported by the traders. Glass beads are almost the first European articles to appear on Seneca sites. Brass kettles seem at first to have been too precious and beautiful to be used over the fire, and were cut up into pendants of various kinds.

In their use of color in their clothing and ornaments the Senecas evinced a natural good taste. In choosing and combining colors they seem always to have achieved a harmony pleasing to Europeans. Their use of beads in working out motives of design on cloth or skin was noted for the harmony of color, the adaptation of the materials to their ultimate use, and the choice of excellent designs. These combined with clever workmanship to render even their humblest and most homely article a work of art, and a delight to the eye.

At about the same time that the Senecas began to import glass beads, they began also to receive shell wampum from the coastal Algonkian tribes. This wampum is a tiny cylindrical bead a quarter of an inch long and an eighth of an inch or less thick, made of the shell of the

ocean clam. It was of two colors, white and purple. This wampum did not appear amongst the Senecas until after the advent of Europeans, but thereafter it became very abundant. As a personal adornment it was strung either alone or with glass beads, in making necklaces or hair ornaments; or it was sewed on bands of skin or woven in bands made of sinew or bark thread and used for fillets, belts, baldrics or garters. Similar strings and belts were used as media of exchange, and very commonly as records or reminders of speeches, messages, and treaties. Wampum still exists on the Seneca reservations and is used ceremonially in various ways.

The best description of personal adornments was written by a very discerning observer, a Miss Ann Powell who in 1789, visited a council of the Six Nations at Buffalo Creek. She spoke of a "young squaw" who was weaving "a sort of worsted garter intermixed with beads." She thought that she was a lady of distinction "for her ears were bored in four different places, with ear-rings in them all." She particularly noted Captain David who reminded her of "some of Homer's finest heroes:"

His person is tall and fine as it is possible to conceive, his features handsome and regular, with a countenance of much softness, his complexion was disagreeably dark, and I really believe he washes his face, for it appeared perfectly clean without paint; his hair was all shaved off except a little on the top of his head to fasten his ornaments to; his head and ears painted a glowing red; round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver; from the left temple hung two straps of black velvet covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was fixed a Foxtail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did a black one in each ear; a pair of immense earrings which hung below his shoulders completed his head-dress, which I assure you was not unbecoming, though I must confess somewhat fantastical.

His dress was a shirt of colored calico, the neck and shoulders

covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net, his sleeves much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm, with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, and engraved with the arms of England. Four smaller bracelets of the same kind about his wrists and arms; around his waist was a large scarf of a very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet. One part he generally drew over his left arm which had a very graceful effect when he moved. His legs were covered with blue cloth made to fit neatly, with an ornamental garter bound below the knee. I know not what kind of a being your imagination will represent to you, but I sincerely declare to you, that altogether Captain David made the finest appearance I ever saw in my life.

Another chief affected her differently. "One old man diverted me extremely; he was dressed in a scarlet coat, richly embroidered, that must have been made half a century, with waist-coat of the same, that reached half-way down his thighs, no shirt or breeches, but blue cloth stockings."

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION ON THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

Almost nothing is known about the religion of the Senecas before they accepted Christianity or the New Religion expounded by Handsome Lake. The Jesuit missionaries, who of all observers were best fitted to describe religion and its rites, had previously made a study of the religion of the Hurons and other kindred nations and seemingly were no longer interested. After the fruitless efforts of the Jesuits no one interested in religion came into contact with them until they had been well established on Buffalo Creek, and until after they had already been affected by the teaching of Handsome Lake. Yet there is no doubt that they had originally a religion with many elaborate rites, and it is equally certain that Handsome Lake retained in his New Religion many of the beliefs and observances of a long existing primitive religion. Certainly some of the rites now practiced by the "Pagans" at their festivals are survivals of these ancient rites, and in most cases identical with them.

A few observers mentioned or described certain rites which came under their notice on Buffalo Creek which seem to have been survivals of their ancient religion. Mr. Jabez Hyde who lived and worked amongst them as a missionary in 1820 has a little to say about some of these which he had observed.

According to Mr. Hyde the Senecas customarily acknowledged a Supreme Being in their every-day life. They greeted each other ordinarily with "I thank God our preserver I see you alive and in health." All councils opened and closed with thanks to the Creator. Thanks

were offered him at the termination of a successful hunt. Mr. Hyde seemed positive that they were not idolators but that they thought of the Supreme Being as existing in four persons. "Whether they have reference to the 'Nau-wen ne-u' or his creating or governing the four elements or something else I could never satisfy myself." They addressed these four existences without any name as "the Great incomprehensible God," "the Creator and Governor of all things." They had annually a feast of first fruits, a feast of in-gathering, a yearly sacrifice, and a spring feast. Besides these there were numerous peace offerings by individuals. "They build altars of stone before a tent covered with blankets and burn Indian tobacco within the tent with fire taken from the altar." This tent was made of blankets spread over a framework. Inside was a stone hearth on which was a fire. Such tents and hearths were frequent. It is possible that he confused these with the small sweat bath houses, which were used by the Senecas.

Most of these observations were verified by other visitors. General Dearborn attended a Green Corn Dance at the Onondaga village and described it in detail. Essentially it was, as it still is, a formal thanksgiving for the ingathering of harvest. There were dances by men and dances by women, with feasting on corn and beans. This differed in detail only from the Green Corn Dance which is still celebrated by the "Pagans" on the Cattaraugus Reservation in that it lacked the plum-stone gambling. This was authorized by Handsome Lake and is now a part of the Green Corn ceremonials.

Mr. Buckingham, in 1813, witnessed in Rochester a "White Dog Dance," the yearly sacrifice such as was noted by Mr. Hyde in 1820. It included dances and a feast identical in every particular with those now held every mid-winter on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and

also the sacrifice of the white dog, the distinguishing rite of this ceremony.

They believed in evil spirits and that death and sickness were caused by evil persons who could control these evil spirits. The influence of these evil spirits and their human controls could be counteracted by conjurors.

As late as 1821 a case of witchcraft on Buffalo Creek culminated in the trial and execution of the alleged witch. A Seneca had fallen ill and because of some peculiarities of his sickness his neighbors concluded that it was caused by witchcraft, and, casting about for the cause, their suspicions rested upon the woman who had nursed the patient. After his death she fled to Canada, but was followed and apprehended there by chiefs from Buffalo Creek. She was tried and found guilty, persuaded to return to the Buffalo Creek Reservation and here she was killed by a chief "So-on-on-gise," Tommy Jemmy, who cut the throat of the prisoner. This case created some excitement in Buffalo. Tommy Jemmy was arrested for murder by the civil officers in Buffalo and after due process of law was indicted for murder. He was defended by Red Jacket, and eventually was freed, the killing having palpably been no murder, but a judicial execution after due trial.

The "conjurors" noted by Mr. Hyde as being able to counteract the influence of evil spirits and persons were evidently identical with the "jugglers" or "sorcerers" mentioned by the Jesuits, and with the "medicine men" mentioned frequently by later whites. There seems to be no English word which will exactly designate these "conjurors," who were undoubtedly members of the secret societies common amongst the Senecas from earliest times until today.

From the beginning, the Senecas had exhibited towards the whites a feeling of hostility and intolerance which

was manifested most markedly in their attitude towards Christianity. Of all the eastern nations they were the least receptive and least responsive towards the missionaries and their teachings.

Missionary effort began comparatively late amongst them. It was not until 1657 that the first missionary, Father Chaumonot, was assigned to their country and during his stay amongst them his efforts were directed, not to the Senecas, but to a village of captive Hurons and Wenroes located there, many of whom had already embraced Christianity in their own country. He stayed a very short time and he had no successor for eleven years, until Father Fremin was assigned there in 1668. The year following, Father Fremin was joined by Father Julian Garnier, but two years later he was recalled and Father Garnier was aided by Father Raffeix. Because of increased work due to epidemics in the Seneca towns Father Pierron was sent to the largest Seneca town, Canagora. These missionaries made little progress in their work of converting the Senecas and seemingly only through fear of the French did the Senecas either accept or tolerate the priests in their towns. When in 1684 Governor LaBarre planned his stroke against the Senecas these were so infuriated that the missionaries were obliged to abandon their stations and flee to Canada.

After this fruitless attempt at proselytizing, no missionary work seems to have been done amongst the Senecas for a century, until long after their removal to Buffalo Creek. In 1788 the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, although on the friendliest terms with the Seneca leaders, was told flatly that no missionaries were welcome in their villages. This feeling of aloofness was intensified in a very few years by the teachings of one of their own nation, the great Handsome Lake.

CHAPTER XIV.

HANDSOME LAKE AND HIS GREAT MESSAGE.

The two decades following the expulsion of the Senecas from their homes in the Genesee Valley formed a period of the deepest depression for the nation. Their ancient order of government had been violently overturned through the scattering of the nations of the Confederacy. Their home lands had been devastated, and their sullen anger still burned against the invaders. Piece by piece their lands had been stripped from them. Association with the lowest of the whites had induced drunkenness and licentiousness, and, with them, distressing ailments. These and actual want, due to their inability to obtain a livelihood either in their ancient manner or in that borrowed from the whites, had weakened the nation physically and morally. Family life was of the most casual nature. Their primitive religious rites were falling into disuse and the efforts of the missionaries to substitute for these the Christian religion had been of little avail. The political, social and religious fabric had been violently rent and the Seneca Nation was as "a nation destroyed."

In the midst of this time of trouble arose one who was to be a Messiah, a Moses, who was to guide them, if not to a promised land, at least to better things. This guide was Handsome Lake. As the direct result of the conditions about him, he delivered a message to his people which gave them a new hold upon life, a new confidence and a new hope.

Handsome Lake was a Seneca, born in the Turtle Clan, but seemingly by adoption, a member also of the Wolf

Clan. Through his mother, he was half-brother to the great Chief Cornplanter, but unlike him, so far as is known, he had no white blood. He was of the Hoyane, "the noble or ruling families," in which was hereditary the most prominent Seneca name, Ska-nya-dah-ri-yoh¹ meaning the beautiful or handsome lake. This name had been given by Dekanahwideh at the time of the formation of the Confederacy to that Seneca chief who had first received from Dekanahwideh the peace message and who had first acceded to his proposal of a great peace.

Prominent though his family was, Handsome Lake himself was in a most miserable condition, when in 1800 there came to him the message which he was to transmit to his people. After a long life of debauchery, he had come to live in the village of his brother, Cornplanter, on the Allegheny River. For four years he had lain on a couch in the cabin of his married daughter, unable to move and sick almost to death of a wasting disease. As he lay, he meditated upon his past life and he was filled with remorse:²

Now as he lies in sickness he meditates and longs that he might rise again and walk upon the earth. So he implores the Great Ruler to give him strength that he may walk upon this earth again. And then he thinks how evil and loathsome he is before the Great Ruler. He thinks how he has been evil ever since he had been able to work. But, notwithstanding, he asks that he may again walk.

Now it comes to his mind that perchance evil has arisen because of strong drink and he resolves to use it nevermore. Now he continually thinks of this every day and every hour. Yea, he continually thinks of this. Then a time comes and he craves drink again for he thinks that he can not recover his strength without it.

Now at this time the daughter of the sick man and her husband are sitting outside the house in the shed and the sick man is within alone. The door is ajar. Now the daughter and her

¹ The Constitution of the Five Nations, p 87.

² Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake."

husband are cleaning beans for the planting. Suddenly they hear the sick man exclaim, "Niio!" Then they hear him rising in his bed and they think how he is but yellow skin and dried bones from four years of sickness in bed. Then the daughter looks up and sees her father coming out of doors. He totters, and she rises quickly to catch him, but he falls dying. Now they lift him up and carry him back within the house and dress him for burial.

Cornplanter had been notified immediately of his brother Handsome Lake's death and he came with numerous neighbors to mourn over the body. Upon examination, he found on the body a small spot of warmth which seemed to indicate that life still remained. Accordingly he, with others, watched over the body. Slowly the warmth spread until at noon of the following day, after a period of unconsciousness of nearly twenty-four hours, the supposed dead man arose and spoke:

Now then he speaks again saying, "Never have I seen such wondrous visions! Now at first I heard some one speaking. Some one spoke and said, 'Come out a while' and said this three times. Now since I saw no one speaking I thought that in my sickness I myself was speaking but I thought again and found that it was not my voice. So I called out boldly, 'Niio!' and arose and went out and there standing in the clear swept space I saw three men clothed in fine clean raiment. Their cheeks were painted red and it seemed that they had been painted the day before. Only a few feathers were in their bonnets. All three were alike and all seemed middle-aged. Never before have I seen such handsome commanding men and they had in one hand bows and arrows as canes. Now in their other hands were huckleberry bushes and the berries were of every color.

Then said the beings, addressing me, 'He who created the world at the beginning employed us to come to earth. Our visit now is not the only one we have made. He commanded us saying 'Go once more down upon the earth and (this time) visit him who thinks of me. He is grateful for my creations, moreover he wishes to rise from sickness and walk (in health) upon the earth. Go you and help him to recover.'"

Having said these things, the three beings gave him of

the berries which they carried, with which to cure his infirmities and then disclosed to him a message from the Great Ruler which he was ordered to transmit to his people.

For sixteen years he preached this message to his people on the Allegheny, the Cattaraugus, the Buffalo Creek, and the Tonawanda. He was derided and scorned, yet in spite of opposition, so forcefully did he move his people that drunkenness declined, the home virtues revived, the social organization was resumed and the Senecas recrystallized into a nation. Of the sixteen years, ten were spent in Cornplanter's village and two at Cold Spring on the Allegheny, where so much opposition developed that he moved with a few followers to the Tonawanda. There he preached to constantly increasing numbers of followers. Yet he became discouraged and at the end was averse to proclaiming his message. At the end of four years, he announced a vision in which the messengers called him to carry their message to Onondaga.

Now it happened that the four messengers appeared to him when the invitation was extended, they the four speakers and messengers of the Great Spirit of the worlds.

Now the first words that they spoke were these, "They have stretched out their hands pleading for you to come and they are your own people at Onondaga."

So now it was that Ganio 'daiio' was bidden the third time to sing his song and this the messengers said would be the last.

Now then he said, "There is nothing to incumber me from fulfilling my call."

That this "last" meant to him that his death was to follow is evident, for he says:

"Thus it happened in the past and it is the truth.

"I must now take up my final journey to the new world,' he thought, and he was greatly troubled and longed for the home of his childhood and pined to return."

Reluctantly then he obeyed his call. With a large following he walked to Onondaga, which he reached in great bodily and mental distress. He delivered a short message to the people of Onondaga and then retired to a small cabin in sight of the Council House, where a few days later surrounded by a few of his own people, he died. He was buried under the old council-house at Onondaga, where his grave is now marked by a handsome granite monument.

The message of Handsome Lake is called by the Senecas, the Gaiwiiio. It comprises the original message to Handsome Lake supplemented by numerous others which he received in visions and a few explanatory interpretations by later preachers. It was transmitted verbally by Handsome Lake to his followers. Edward Cornplanter's account is:

"The 'Gaiwiiio' came from Hodianokdoo Hediohe, the Great Ruler, to the Hadioyageeono, the four messengers. From them it was transmitted to Ganio 'daiio', Handsome Lake who taught it to Syandyogwadi (Owen Blacksnake) and to his own grandson, Sosheowa (James Johnson). Blacksnake taught it to Henry Stevens (Ganishando), who taught it to Sosondawa, Edward Cornplanter. So I know that I have the true words and I preach them," adds Cornplanter.³

Cornplanter's version of the "Great Message" is published by the University of the State of New York, in Museum Bulletin 163, edited by Mr. Arthur C. Parker, the state archaeologist. Its present form is that determined upon by a council of its preachers when a uniform form was desired. After conference, Chief John Jacket of Cattaraugus, was delegated to determine upon a form to be used by all. He wrote out in Seneca a form which at a later assembly was memorized by all the preachers. Cornplanter's version is probably a correct rendering of this form.

³ Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake."

The great message is made up of three rather distinct parts. There is a moral code containing definite rules for right conduct, and punishments for those who infringe them. There are numerous examples to show the power of the prophet, and messages received in fortuitous visions, calculated to increase his following. It contains also, short descriptions of certain events in the life of Handsome Lake.

The moral code recognizes a great ruler, Hodianokdoo Hediohe, and the existence of certain messengers between this personage and the Senecas. There are numerous references to an evil being, called in one place "Segoe-watha, the Tormentor."

It recognizes the immortality of the soul and it prophesies a happy home after death to those of right living, and an abode of torment to transgressors.

In the rules of conduct, Handsome Lake emphasized most emphatically those relating to the imitation of, or intercourse with, white people. He warned his people against drunkenness, not once, but over and over, and he pictured the misery resulting from drink, and the punishment to be expected by drunkards. This teaching was the first successful temperance crusade in the United States. Fiddling and card-playing were to be punished severely. The fiddler was to play in the hereafter with a red-hot iron bow across the cords of his naked arm. The card-player was to play forever with red-hot iron cards. Church-goers were to be punished by an imprisonment in a red-hot church. Yet he encouraged the Senecas to imitate the whites by building houses, cultivating ground and raising horses and cattle.

He denounced witch-craft and the use of charms; yet he forbade the punishment of witches. Rather, he urged them to cease their sins and confess them either publicly or privately, to the Great Ruler. But for those who con-

tinued in their sins, he pictured punishment by an eternal bath in a boiling caldron.

Family life he attempted to restore by numerous rules. Men and women were to marry and live together happily. Adultery was to be punished by horrid tortures. Men were forbidden to beat or desert their wives. Abortion was severely condemned. Children were in all cases to be kindly treated. Hospitality and charity were praised as virtues but he was especially severe against scolding, gossiping, and all forms of boastfulness and the stirring up of strife.

He authorized certain ceremonial dances but encouraged the acknowledgement of gratitude to the Great Ruler rather than practicing these ceremonial dances.

This teaching was singularly well adapted to the Senecas of his time. The whole message was delivered in the vernacular by one of their own people, who combined in himself the prestige inherent by reason of the prominence of his family, and by the startling phenomenon attending his own regeneration. His philosophy was that of the Senecas and was based upon well-known habits of mind and of body. His message came at a time of gloom when the nation was ready to receive any word of hope, and it was a protest against the dominance of the white people which was being felt more and more, and which the Senecas despaired of being able to withstand. So, although he met with the open scorn and active opposition which is usual to every reformer, his influence increased during his life and it has persisted for a century after his death. The influence of his teaching upon the Senecas was second only to that of Christianity, and as a result of these two forces, the nation today is divided rather sharply into two parties, the Christian party and the Pagan party. This Pagan party comprises those who are followers of the teachings of Handsome Lake, and

their rituals, ceremonies and conduct of living are based upon his message. Yet with this are bound up a great number of survivals of those ancient beliefs and ceremonies which constituted the religious ideas of the Stone Age Senecas.

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY CHRISTIAN TEACHING.

In 1800 the first serious attempts were made to Christianize the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. In October of that year the Rev. Elkanah Holmes reached Buffalo Creek which he called the Seneca Castle. He visited Farmer's Brother, whom he asked to call a council to consider his desire to preach there. The council met in the council-house, about a hundred Senecas being present. Red Jacket, "the second sachem," made the usual introductory speech of welcome. Mr. Holmes then delivered to the gathering a message from the Directors of the Missionary Society, and one from the Oneidas and "Muh he con nuks," and concluded by saying that he was ready to preach to them if they were willing. After a half hour's consideration Red Jacket replied thanking him for his address and signifying their willingness to hear him preach on the following day.

The following day a very heavy rainstorm prevented Mr. Holmes from keeping his appointment with the expectant audience, but on the day after he set out from Buffalo where he had lodged for the "Seneca Castle." The creek was badly flooded and twice he had to cross its swollen stream in a canoe, with his horse swimming behind him, only to find when he had reached his destination that the chiefs had been unable to gather the people and so had been forced to ask him to postpone once more.

The next day, October 20, 1800, he went once more to the "Castle" where he found a large audience awaiting him. Red Jacket again introduced him, first giving the

customary thanks to the "Great Good Spirit" for the opportunity of hearing him, and adjuring the listeners to give close attention. Mr. Holmes then preached the doctrine of Christ. At the close of his address Red Jacket made a very clever speech, in which he expressed himself satisfied with the good intent of the missionary, although he also expressed surprise that the white people had not themselves followed the teachings of Christ. He assured the missionary that the Senecas would not have been guilty of putting to death such a good teacher. His long and flowery harangue gave the missionary the impression that he was unfavorable toward receiving missionaries.

The next day Mr. Holmes held a meeting in Palmer's tavern in Buffalo, which was attended by Farmer's Brother. At the close of the meeting he made a long speech in which he spoke in a very discouraging manner of the attempts which had been made to educate his grandson after the white man's fashion. The boy had been sent to Philadelphia where he was to have remained for five years, learning the ways of white men. His grandfather visited him there at the end of two years when the boy was about thirteen years old, and he was shocked to find him gambling in a tavern in company with lewd women. He considered this an example of what might be expected should the Senecas decide to receive missionaries.

The next year Mr. Holmes succeeded in obtaining from the New York Missionary Society an appropriation of about \$190 with which to found a school on Buffalo Creek. He returned here and began a school building which was never finished, although actual instruction was begun by a Mr. Palmer. In 1803 Mr. Holmes was made a permanent missionary in charge of the Senecas and Tuscaroras. He made his headquarters with the

Tuscaroras whom he found rather amenable to missionary effort, but visited the Senecas occasionally.

While on one of these parochial visits to Buffalo Creek he was visited by two other missionaries, the Rev. Lemuel Covell and Elder Obed Warren, who were on their way to Canada. They found Elder Holmes awaiting an answer from the Senecas to his proposal to build a school and church on the Reservation. They were in council at that time, but it was not until the end of the third day that their decision was made. Red Jacket then called upon Mr. Holmes with the announcement that the Senecas had agreed to allow a church to be built. He claimed that he had advocated this in the council and seemed to be very friendly to the project.

In 1807 or 1808 Mr. Holmes had a controversy with his society and resigned his charge. After his departure the Senecas became distrustful of the efforts of the missionary societies which were attempting to aid them and refused to have anything further to do with them; and it was not until 1811 that they agreed to receive another missionary. In that year Mr. Alexander preached amongst them but left after a few months. They then invited Mr. Jabez Hyde, a teacher who had accompanied the missionary, and an agent of the New York Missionary Society, to establish a school amongst them. This he did.

For seven years Mr. Hyde kept school on the Reservation and during that time he had a varied but discouraging experience. Pupils were few and irregular, and their stay was usually so brief that no good resulted. The older people did not support it, though they did not actually oppose it. In 1817 the Rev. Timothy Alden, who visited Mr. Hyde, reported that the school consisted of "about thirty boys in as prosperous a state as could be reasonably expected," and that Mr. Hyde had written

several simple discourses on parts of the Bible which he delivered through an interpreter. Mr. Alden spoke highly of Daniel G. Butrick who, on the day of Mr. Alden's arrival, was setting out for Boston where he was to be ordained. So well did he think of Mr. Butrick's work on Buffalo Creek that he urged the missionary board to assign him here after his ordination.

Mr. Alden called upon Pollard and Young King and asked their aid in arranging for a religious meeting. These seemed entirely in accord for they called a meeting for the following Sunday at Mr. Hyde's school house "in Seneca as the village on Buffalo Creek is sometimes called." At the appointed time a large audience awaited him. Amongst them was Red Jacket who contrary to expectations raised no objections to the preaching which followed, and which was interpreted by Jacob Jamison. After the preaching Pollard delivered in Seneca a short address of thanks "in a very graceful and eloquent manner."

Not until 1819 could Mr. Hyde note any effect of his work. In that year several young men of good families became convinced that Christianity was superior to their own belief and became regular attendants at the school, and within a few months others followed their lead until the school house was crowded, even some of the older chiefs attending. So successful was the school that the New York Missionary Society decided to enlarge the scope of the work and sent two agents to Buffalo Creek to carry out their plans.

This attempt bade fair to discredit all of Mr. Hyde's work. The agents made a "covenant" with the various nations on the Reservation by which the society was to send teachers, and the Indians were to attend upon instruction, and to advise and counsel with the society. As soon as this agreement had been made, active opposition

developed. The Senecas split into two factions, one favoring Christianity, the other opposed to it and to everything else emanating from the whites, and favoring a continuance of their ancient religion. The latter party was led by Red Jacket, and they charged that the "covenant" bound the Senecas to the society which would plunder them of their lands. Feeling ran so high that Mr. Hyde was obliged to discontinue his work for a time, yet there seems no doubt that by that time many Senecas had accepted, if not the Christian religion, at least the conditions resulting from Christian teaching.

Mr. Alden re-visited the Reservation the following year, 1820, and reported that Mr. Hyde was still in charge. He did not appear to take the opposition to Mr. Hyde's school as very serious, and thought that although a declaration had been made the year before not to receive Christianity, this was not the feeling of any large party, but rather that it emanated from Red Jacket only. On the contrary he found an increasing number of Senecas in the Christian party. Many of these attended services regularly in their council house and sang hymns in the Seneca language.

During this period of discouraging missionary effort the New York Missionary Society had fulfilled its part of the "covenant" by sending from New York Mr. James Young and his wife, and a Miss Low who was to assist them in educational work on the Reservation. They journeyed to Tuscarora where they were to remain with the resident missionary, Mr. Crane, until a suitable mission house was established at Buffalo Creek. Upon its completion they drove in a two-horse wagon laden with their household belongings to their new home, taking two days for the drive over rough and muddy roads.

Miss Low described the mission house as a two-story log house, the upper floor of which was used as a school. Mr.

Alden, who returned the following year, describes in some detail not only the house but the work which was being conducted there. The lower story was cut up into comfortable living rooms for the missionary and his family. The upper floor comprised one large room in the center of which was a large chimney. Here were the "fixtures and appurtenances for reading, writing and cyphering, sewing, knitting and spinning." The house was furnished with a "fine toned bell of about 150 pounds weight." The school was opened and closed with prayer and the children sang a hymn in Seneca. Mr. Young taught classes of boys and girls in English, and besides he had a class of young men on two evenings a week for singing. The music seemed to appeal to the Senecas and their voices were good. Mrs. Young and Miss Low taught classes of girls, giving them instruction in sewing and knitting. In the summer there were in attendance about 15 boys and about the same number of girls. In the winter there had been over 45 boys and 25 girls.

In 1820 the mission was transferred from the supervision of the New York Missionary Society to that of the United Foreign Missionary Society which had been organized three years previously by the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, and the Associate Reformed Churches of New York City. This society sent two agents, the Reverend Stephen N. Rowan and the Reverend Henry P. Strong to get the consent of the Indians to the transfer. This they succeeded in doing at a council at Buffalo Creek in December, 1820. The same day two wedding ceremonies were performed, the first on the Reservation. In the first of these Thomas Armstrong and Rebecca Hempferman, both white captives who had lived amongst the Senecas from childhood, were united. At the same time Jonathan, youngest son of Red Jacket, was married to

Yeck-ah-wak, a Seneca girl who lived on the Cattaraugus Reservation.

The first action of the United Foreign Missionary Society was to remove the Rev. Mr. Hyde and Miss Low. The latter went to New York where she was married shortly afterwards. Mr. Hyde seems to have retained the respect and liking of his Seneca charges and seems to have been doing good work, but his beliefs did not meet the approval of his superiors. He wrote seven hymns in Seneca, and these were in use for some time.

In November, 1821, a missionary arrived at Buffalo Creek in the person of Rev. Thompson S. Harris. He seems to have been tactless, fussy and officious, with little common sense, sympathy for his charges or fitness for his work. His school was constantly broken up by exasperated parents who disapproved of his drastic method of discipline. Yet in the years of his charge he firmly established Christianity, organized a church and a good foundation for future efforts.

Some of this success was undoubtedly due to the influence of the United States Government. In September, 1822, a general council of the Six Nations was held at Buffalo Creek and amongst the matters discussed was the mission work. Letters were read from "Government" praising the chiefs of the Christian party and censuring those of the Pagan party. The next year Mr. Harris submitted a report of his work and of its results to the Secretary of War.

At the time of the report a considerable establishment had grown up. The missionaries comprised Mr. Harris, his wife and an infant; Mr. Young, his wife and one assistant. Mr. Young and his wife lived in the log mission house already described. Mr. Harris lived in a good new frame house built in 1822, large enough to accommodate about twenty children as a boarding school.

The missionaries had tilled and planted a plot of ground for a garden, and had enclosed twelve acres for an orchard and pasture. This latter incensed the Senecas who dreaded the thought of whites securing a foothold on their lands. Indian boys were taught shoemaking, farming and carpentry. The girls learned sewing, weaving and spinning.

The first persons to be received into the church were baptized on Sunday, April 13, 1823, and received the Holy Communion in an enthusiastic gathering of 150 persons. Mr. Young had translated several hymns into Seneca and the missionaries during this year had 500 copies printed for use in the mission.

The attempts of the missionaries to enclose and cultivate for themselves a piece of land near the mission resulted seriously. The Legislature had passed a law in 1821 prohibiting whites from residing on a reservation. The Pagans, led by Red Jacket, acting under authority of this law, obtained an order of ejectment against the missionaries, and after several fruitless efforts on their part to retain their mission, they closed it and left the Buffalo Creek. Mr. Young never returned, but Mr. Harris after a lapse of a year resumed his work here and in addition took charge of the work at Tuscarora and Cattaraugus.

The church grew gradually. In 1823 the "Register of the Seneca Mission Church organized August 10th, 1823" showed, besides the missionaries, four Indian members. One of these was Seneca White, who proved a steadfast friend of the church. The next year two more were added, one being the very prominent chief Pollard¹. In

¹ Captain Pollard (Waooundawana), seemingly the son of Edward Pollard, an English trader, was a chief and warrior, in command of war parties sent from Niagara against the borders during the Revolution, and the American company of Senecas who operated along the Niagara in the War of 1812. He was prominent in the Treaty of 1838. At all times he seems to have been a kindly, courteous gentleman, respected by his white and Seneca neighbors. He seems to have lived on the north side of Potter Road, called in early surveys, "Pollard's Road," just beyond the city line.

1825 three members came and the next year five, the next twenty-three and in 1828 nine.

In 1828 the congregation decided to build a church. It was to be 41 feet by 51 feet, one story high with a tower and bell, and it was to cost about \$1700. The Senecas had just sold a portion of their reservations and seemingly money was easily had for on August 19, 1829, it was dedicated. The following year Mr. Harris left his work and no permanent missionary was assigned until the following year.

A result of the growth of the church and of the gradual leanings of the Senecas toward Christianity was a split in the body of Senecas, one party being composed of those who were Christians or who were under Christian influences, headed by Captain Pollard and Seneca White. The other was composed of those who opposed Christianity, and who were either followers of Handsome Lake, or adherents of the ancient religion. This party was dominated at first and for many years by Red Jacket, and after his death in 1830, it seems to have been led by Big Kettle. In any conference in which the Senecas took part, these two parties opposed each other, especially in questions regarding the sale of lands. In the attempts of Mr. Ogden to purchase lands, the Pagan party always squarely opposed and the Christian party mainly sanctioned the sale of the reservations. This feeling still seems apparent. On all question regarding dividing the reservation lands and taking fee, or of holding them as at present in common, the Pagan party still stands out for holding in common, while most of the Christians seem willing to divide their lands and possess a holding in individual right.

This split in the Seneca Nation became so serious and the Christian party so strong that it was decided to oust Red Jacket from his chieftainship. In September,

1827, the year after the sale of the "mile-strip" of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, he was deposed by the chiefs at a council in the Seneca Council House. The reasons for his deposition as fully set forth in a document written in the Seneca language, were that he was opposed to the progress of his people, that he stirred up dissensions, and was in many ways definitely set down inimical to the best interests of his nation. Amongst the chiefs signing this document were Young King, Pollard, Seneca White, Strong and Little Beard. At a meeting called later in the year he was re-instated but he never resumed his dominating position.

On November 9, 1831, the Rev. Asher Wright assumed charge of the mission at the Seneca station. For two years he occupied the house wherein his predecessor had lived, but at the end of that time he moved into a new mission-house which had been erected seemingly very near the old one. During the early days of his charge he seems to have had general oversight over schools which had been opened at Jack Berry's town and at the Onondaga village.

Mr. Wright was a natural linguist and he soon became so proficient in the use of the Seneca language that he was enabled to preach to his Seneca charges in their own tongue. Very soon after his arrival he began publishing, using a system of orthography which he had devised to represent the sounds of the Seneca language. His first book was a "Beginning Book," a primer published in Boston in 1836. In 1844 he procured a hand-press and equipped it with type specially cast to meet the exigencies of the Seneca language. This he set up at the mission. His first publication from his own press was a small periodical, *The Mental Elevator*, which appeared at irregular intervals until after the Senecas had removed from Buffalo Creek. "A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language

with English Definitions" was issued in 1842, followed a year later by a Seneca hymn book revised from Mr. Harris's book. The next year Mr. Wright published certain parts of the Revised Statutes which related to gambling, profanity and disturbing the peace.

Mr. Wright and his wife were thoroughly earnest Christian workers and they were teachers of a high order. That they succeeded in winning over a large part of the Senecas is made evident by the fact that when the Indians removed from Buffalo Creek the Wrights accompanied them to Cattaraugus where they labored with them until their deaths.

CHAPTER XVI.

MINOR LAND SALES.

The two decades following the formation of the Buffalo Creek Reservation were in the main uneventful for the Senecas domiciled thereon. The second war with Great Britain was fought during this period, and although this was of little interest to the Senecas, they were active in some of the fighting. Mainly, however, it was a period of quiet, of a gradual and peaceful sale of small outlying and segregated lands, and of the removal of their inhabitants to the Buffalo Creek and other larger centers. During this period they also saw the beginning and sturdy growth of the village of Buffalo upon their borders.

For some time trouble had been threatening about a tract of land which had just been purchased by Pennsylvania and which was best known as the Presqu'isle tract. Basing a claim upon a charter from the English King similar in every way to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut had set up a claim to a narrow strip of land beyond the western boundary of Pennsylvania. In 1786 Connecticut ceded this land to the United States, reserving a small portion for itself. Much of the land ceded lay along Lake Erie, and as Pennsylvania had at that time no lake port and appreciated to the full the advantages to be derived from one, that state purchased from the United States in 1788 a triangular tract of land which extended from its northwestern boundary to Lake Erie. This was a portion of the Connecticut tract and was important because it contained the excellent harbor of Presqu'isle (Erie) and also the main portage

road across the divide from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.

This tract lay west of the boundary of the lands of the Six Nations laid down in the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and it also lay west of, though contiguous to, the boundary of the Indian lands as laid down in the treaty at Canandaigua in 1794. There seems, then, to have been no ground for any claim by the Six Nations upon this tract.

In 1789, however, Pennsylvania extinguished any possible Indian title to this land through a conveyance signed by representatives of the Six Nations. Amongst the Seneca signers were Cornplanter and Big Tree. No Mohawks signed however, and these as well as the Senecas considered the sale invalid.

In February of 1794 this sale was considered at a council at Buffalo Creek at which both Red Jacket and Brant spoke. At a later meeting, in June of the same year, Cornplanter, who had been instrumental in selling this land complained that settlers from Pennsylvania were encroaching upon the tract. The chiefs decided to send a delegation to Presqu'isle to request the removal of the settlers, and they invited their Indian Agent, General Chapin, to accompany them. He came to Buffalo accompanied by his secretary, Samuel Colt, and by Horatio Jones, an interpreter, and in company with several chiefs from Buffalo Creek and by William Johnston, they journeyed to Presqu'isle and so on to LeBoeuf at the southern end of the portage road. So satisfied was General Chapin that their claims were just that he ordered Mr. Ellicott who was surveying the land, to stop work.

Two years later, in 1796, Mr. Porter was made superintendent of a survey of the Connecticut Reserve in Ohio. He outfitted at Canandaigua and started for Presqu'isle by way of Buffalo Creek. When he arrived here his party was met by Brant, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, with a large following who presented their

claim on the tract comprised in the Connecticut Reserve. He assembled the chiefs in council and the whole matter was deliberated upon. He finally distributed presents to the value of \$2,000 and the Indians declared their claim satisfied.

The first settlers to attempt the difficult journey through New York to the Presqu'isle Tract were Hinds Chamberlain and Jesse Beach, who in 1798 reached Buffalo Creek on their way to LeBoeuf. They came on sleds drawn by two yoke of oxen and had been obliged to break out much of the roads themselves. When the Senecas learned that their purpose was to settle on this tract, they were highly indignant that these whites presumed to enter their lands. A gift of two gallons of whiskey and some tobacco appeased them however, and the travelers were permitted to proceed.

Four years later, 1802, the Senecas changed the form of their reservation on the Cattaraugus Creek.

In the original deed to Robert Morris the Cattaraugus Reservation was so laid out that it lay along the shore of Lake Erie from Eighteen Mile Creek (Koghguaga) to Canadaway Creek (Conondauwea) beyond Dunkirk. From this mile strip two tracts extended, one up the Cattaraugus Valley, the other up Canadaway Creek. This seems to have been mutually unsatisfactory, for apparently without any objection on the part of the Senecas, they exchanged this for a reservation with a small lake frontage at the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek and a long extension up the valley of this stream. In the exchange the Holland Company was careful to retain the pre-emptive right over the land thus reserved.

In the same year, 1802, the Senecas sold to the State of New York a very desirable tract of land lying along the Niagara River. It will be remembered that although the western boundary of the Indian lands in New York

was established in 1784 as being four miles east of the Niagara River from Lake Ontario to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, the treaty of 1794 changed this by running the line to Steadman's Creek just above the Falls, and thence along the river to its head. The western boundary of New York laid down in the compromise with Massachusetts was to be one mile east of the river to Lake Erie. The tract left from Steadman's Creek to the mouth of Buffalo Creek was thus left in the possession of the Senecas. New York purchased this tract from the Senecas in 1802, with certain reservations however. They were to retain the right to fish and camp on the banks of the river, and to gather driftwood. In the treaty New York stipulated that two tracts, each a mile square, north of Scajaquada Creek were to be granted, one to Jasper Parrish, the other to Horatio Jones.

In 1803 the sale of lands resulted in the deposition at Buffalo Creek of one of the most prominent chiefs of the Six Nations, Joseph Brant. In 1799 Brant became involved in a controversy between the Caughnawaga branch of the Mohawks and the State of New York regarding the sale of a certain parcel of land extending from the Mohawk River to Pennsylvania which John Livingston had purchased from the Six Nations two years before. Brant had signed the deed as a witness, and later the Caughnawagas accused him of selling their lands and pocketing the proceeds. Later when he was instrumental in acquiring for the Six Nations the tract of land on the Grand River now known as the Grand River Reservation, the Senecas accused him of having received personal emoluments from the English, and they also claimed a portion of these Grand River lands. His conduct was considered at a council of the Six Nations held at Buffalo Creek in 1803, probably in the council house of the Onondagas on Cazenovia Creek, for they

were the only nation privileged to call a meeting of the Confederates. The leaders of the Senecas were Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket.

As a result of the deliberations Brant was formally deposed as a chief of the Six Nations, together with all the other Mohawk chiefs, and all his actions in connection with the Grand River lands were disavowed. Brant and the Mohawks naturally claimed that this action at the council was illegal. They claimed that the council fire of the League had been regularly removed to the Grand River where the main body of Onondagas was established, and that it was only there that any national business could be transacted. That this had been done was denied by the nations on Buffalo Creek and certainly there seems to be a good deal of doubt that this had been done. Certainly all national affairs had been transacted at Buffalo Creek for many years, and a considerable body of Onondagas still resided at Buffalo Creek, and in these were vested the right to convene a council.

Mr. Stone in his life of Brant is inclined to think that the deposition was purely the result of intrigue instigated by Red Jacket. There never was any doubt that the two were enemies. Brant had publicly expressed his contempt of Red Jacket as a warrior and had often accused him of cowardice. Brant laid the blame upon the Indian Agent, Mr. Claus, who he says stirred up the Senecas to protest against Brant's action in the Grand River land deal. He attempted to clear himself in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland by saying that a few common people had gone to Buffalo Creek to attend a council there and had met Claus at Niagara and had at his instigation signed a protest to be sent to England.¹

In 1803 there was consummated at Buffalo Creek the first sale of the small reservations. At a council of Sen-

¹ Stone's Life of Brant, II, 417.

eca chiefs presided over by John Tayler, a commissioner appointed by the United States, Joseph Ellicott purchased for the Holland Company the reservation on the Genesee surrounding the village of Little Beard.

When in 1786 New York and Massachusetts had by compromise settled their dispute about their conflicting land claims, New York had ceded to Massachusetts the pre-emptive right to all Indian lands. This was no more than the sole right to purchase the lands from their Indian owners. Massachusetts purchased no land, but it sold this pre-emptive right to Robert Morris who purchased such lands as the Senecas would sell, and still retained the sole right to purchase all their remaining lands. He deeded the lands of western New York thus acquired to the Holland Company and with them the pre-emptive right to the lands remaining, these being the reservations. The Holland Company did not purchase these reservations but it still retained the pre-emptive right, the sole right to purchase them and it was "lawfully authorized to sell the pre-emptive rights to the reserved tracts."

In 1810 the first steps were made to acquire title to the large reservations. As a preliminary the Holland Company conveyed to David A. Ogden the reservations at Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, Allegheny River, Tonawanda Creek, Caneadea and Lewiston, in all, about 196335 acres at fifty cents per acre, "subject to the right of the native Indians, and not otherwise." In other words Mr. Ogden at an expense of \$98,167.50 acquired the right to purchase from the Senecas 196,335 acres of land comprising their reservations in New York.

The pre-emptive right thus transferred to Mr. Ogden was not considered to include the right to purchase the islands in Niagara River. When the boundary line between the United States and the provinces of Great Britain was defined the line was to run in the middle of

the principal branch of the Niagara and it would seem that enough doubt attached to the ownership of the islands to cause them to be omitted in the treaties of 1784 and 1794. The Senecas always claimed them in spite of the fact that they were definitely west of their western boundary.

It will be remembered that in 1768 in a treaty with Sir William Johnson, the Six Nations ceded to him a tract four miles wide on each side of the Niagara. Nothing was said about the islands and they certainly still remained in the possession of the Six Nations and as these were contiguous to lands recognized as belonging to the Senecas, any claim upon them by the Senecas would be considered valid.

In 1784 the Six Nations ceded to the United States all their lands west of a line drawn four miles east of the Niagara. According to this the sovereignty over these islands would have passed to the United States and from it to New York. In 1794 the western boundary of the Senecas' land was established at this four mile line only as far as Fort Schlosser, thence along the river and Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line. The Seneca claim apparently rested upon the assumption that 'along the river' meant along the middle of the river, which included the islands, excepting Navy Island, in their territory.

As the Morris purchase from Massachusetts in 1791 included only the lands then owned by the Senecas, it naturally did not include the islands which were not at that time in the possession of the Senecas.

The Senecas never relinquished their claim to the islands, and this was recognized in 1812 by the people of western New York. Shortly after the second war with Great Britain was announced, a rumor reached Buffalo that Indians attached to the interest of Great Britain had established themselves on Grand Island. This so

disturbed the Senecas that the chiefs consulted with their agent, Mr. Erastus Granger, as to their best course of action. Red Jacket voiced the claim of the Senecas to the island and asked permission to send warriors from Buffalo Creek to hold it. He shrewdly expressed his conviction that judging from past experiences, should the war end with Canadians on the islands, they would keep possession of them by right of conquest.

Immediately after the war, September 12, 1815, the Senecas sold all the islands, Grand, Squaw, Strawberry, Rattlesnake and Bird, for \$1,000 and an annuity of \$500 per year forever. The boundary was not finally established until 1819, when by measurements the principal branch of the river was decided to be on the west side of Grand Island, and that these islands were within the limits of the United States.

The first Buffalo newspaper was published in Buffalo in 1811 and very soon thereafter occasional notices began to appear emanating from the reservation. Several issues in May of 1812 bore the advertisement of a good canoe, then lying in Buffalo Creek, for sale by Twenty Canoes. Erastus Granger advertised the loss by theft or straying of a horse owned by an Indian named Jonas. In February, 1813, Mr. Jabez Hyde, missionary on the reservation, advertised that two horses had strayed upon the reservation and were then in the custody of Seneca White and James King.

When the Second War with Great Britain was declared there was much anxiety in western New York as to the attitude of the Senecas. Many were still alive who had suffered in the border wars of the Revolution and they appreciated to the full that on the reservation in their midst there were hundreds of fierce clansmen trained and eager for war. Should these choose actively to side with their ancient allies, the English, no one could doubt

the effect upon the isolated settlements. Their only hope for safety was that the Senecas could be persuaded to side with the United States or at least remain neutral.

In July, 1812, soon after war was announced, Mr. Erastus Granger, the Indian Agent, met the Indian chiefs and in a long speech in which he presented the cause of the war, he urged that because of the justice and fairness which had marked the treatment of the Senecas by the United States, they should remain neutral in a war, the causes or outcome of which could in no wise affect them. He intimated, also, that if any of the young men might care to take up arms, they might enlist in the army which the United States was then raising, on equal rating and equal pay with the whites.

Red Jacket acted as spokesman of the Senecas. He admitted that justice had always characterized the dealings of the United States and that the Senecas had asserted their desire to be at peace. He assured Mr. Granger it was the intent of the Senecas to take no part in the war, and further that they would send a delegation to Canada where some of their clansmen were taking up arms for Great Britain, and endeavor to persuade them to remain neutral. He refused to consider allowing any Senecas to enlist. As a result of this a delegation of chiefs was sent to Canada. They had great difficulty in getting permission from the English commander to enter Canada, but were finally allowed a few minutes' conversation with a few of the Canadian Indians. They failed to influence them, and thereafter during the war the clansmen fought on opposite sides.

In September of 1812 at a meeting of the chiefs of the Six Nations at Onondaga, they decided to offer to aid the United States and on the same day 140 young men from the Allegheny Reservation came to Buffalo Creek where they encamped, danced a war dance in the streets

of Buffalo, and offered to take up arms for home defence.

The neutrality which the chiefs had decided upon was found to be impracticable. Almost immediately after the war began, the Senecas at Buffalo Creek heard rumors that the Canadian Indians were occupying Grand Island. A meeting between the chiefs and Mr. Granger was arranged and Red Jacket asked permission to allow their young men to drive them off.

In the spring of 1813, the commander at Fort Niagara, a United States post, invited the Senecas to the fort, hoping to use them in persuading the Mohawks of the Grand River to refrain from war. Following his invitation a large number, 300 to 400, came to the fort armed for war and led by Farmer's Brother. As the Mohawks were determined to side actively with the English, the band of Senecas was enlisted into the service of the United States.

These enlisted Senecas seem to have had their first active participation in war on July 10, 1813, when the village of Buffalo was threatened by an English force. This had landed at Scajaquada Creek and taken the battery at Black Rock which was deserted by its occupants. When the alarm reached Buffalo Mr. Granger placed a guard of 40 Senecas under Farmer's Brother to guard his house. While the English force was destroying the battery and looting its few stores a force was collected in Buffalo made up of all the soldiers who would stand, seemingly supplementing these Senecas. This force attacked the English and drove them off.

At the battle of Chippewa in July, 1814, the Senecas did good service. They were led there by Captain Pollard and (so Lossing asserts) by Red Jacket.

From the close of the Revolution, most of the Six Nations seem to have fully appreciated that it would be difficult for them to maintain themselves permanently on

their New York lands. The life to which they were accustomed demanded wide unpopulated lands, for only from these could they derive peltry, the sole commodity which they might use in exchange for the necessities of life for which they now depended entirely upon the white men. Their lands in New York were restricted to such a degree, and so rapidly were the surrounding tracts being settled, that it could be but a short time until they must abandon this mode of life and either assume that of the white people or perish.

The acquisition by the United States of immense tracts of land west of the Mississippi aroused in the Six Nations a desire to find there new homes, where surrounded by vast tracts of wild land, they might continue to live in their ancient manner. This desire was expressed in 1810 when they sent the President a communication inquiring about the possibility of acquiring lands in the West.

As a result of this inquiry the Government acquired from the Menominees of Wisconsin a tract of land at Green Bay, comprising 500,000 acres of land. This purchase was consummated in 1831 and the land was secured to the Six Nations. The next year the Six Nations gave their assent to this purchase and settlement, and during the next three years, part of the Six Nations, the Oneidas, relinquished their New York lands and removed to the Green Bay tract.

Most of the remaining nations, however, refused to emigrate thither, and intimated a desire to exchange these Green Bay lands for larger tracts in the Indian Territory, and the President, prompted probably by the constantly growing demand for the New York lands, as well, perhaps, by a desire to settle for all time the demands of these clamorous clansmen, was willing to comply with their wishes.

One result of this feeling and desire on the part of the Six Nations was their willingness to sell their lands in New York. The Senecas accordingly, during the years in which the western land question was being debated began the sale of their lands, the first sales being of those already noticed, the Little Beard Reservation, the islands in the Niagara and the portage road.

In 1819 an effort was made by the Ogden Company to buy all the reservations except that at Allegheny. The Seneca chiefs were assembled at Buffalo, there being also present Hon. Morris Miller, commissioner appointed by the President, and Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, commissioner representing Massachusetts. At this meeting the two parties of Senecas were represented, the Christian by Captain Pollard, the Pagan by Red Jacket. The offer to purchase was voiced by Mr. Miller who presented also offers by the United States to cede to them lands in the West. Red Jacket in a strong and somewhat rude speech opposed the sale and his influence was such that the offer was rejected. Yet a minority of the chiefs, representing the Christians, assembled with Commissioner Morris and its spokesman, Pollard, deplored the seeming rudeness of Red Jacket's speech, and expressed his belief that the Senecas must soon change their condition.

Three years later the Senecas were again assembled at their village to consider selling their lands. Again Red Jacket opposed the sale and was supported by the council.

The first large sale was finally negotiated in 1826, and was consummated at a treaty held at Buffalo Creek in August of that year, between the "sachems, chiefs and warriors" and Robert Troup, Thomas L. Ogden and Benjamin W. Rogers. Mr. Oliver Forward was present as commissioner of the United States, as was Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, superintendent representing Massachusetts.

At this time, in consideration of \$48,260, the Senecas

conveyed to Mr. Troup and Mr. Ogden all the remaining small reservations, namely at Caneadea, Canawaugus, Big Tree, Squawky Hill, and Gardeau. With these they also conveyed three large reservations, at Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda Creek and Cattaraugus Creek, but with certain specified exemptions. In effect this was the sale of portions of each of these reservations. The portion thus exempted from the sale of the Buffalo Creek reservation is specified in the conveyance as follows:

Also all that other tract of land commonly called and known by the name of the Buffalo Creek Reservation situate lying and being in the said county of Erie and containing by estimation eighty three thousand five hundred and fifty seven (83,557) acres, excepting nevertheless and always reserving out of the said Buffalo Creek reservation the following tract, piece or parcel thereof that is to say, seventy-eight square miles or forty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty (49,920) acres bounded as follows, that is to say: Beginning on the north line of the said reservation at a point one mile and a half east of the Cayuga Creek, running thence south one mile and a half; thence east parallel with the north line so far as that, a line to be drawn from the termination thereof south to a point one mile distant from the south line of the said reservation; and thence west parallel with the south line to the west line of the reservation, and thence along the west and north line of the same to the place of beginning will contain the said quantity of seventy-eight square miles or forty nine thousand nine hundred and twenty (49,920) acres.

The southern strip thus conveyed to Troup and Ogden lying between this line on the south and the Holland Company's tract has always been known as the "Mile Strip."

This treaty was signed by forty-seven Seneca chiefs, amongst them being Young King, Pollard, Little Billy, Cornplanter, Blacksnake, Silverheels, Big Kettle, Shongo, Red Jacket, and some others of local note. Horatio Jones and Jacob Jameson acted as interpreters. Jasper Parrish was Indian Agent.

Although the Senecas considered the sale valid at the time, delivered the lands, and received the purchase price, the validity of the transaction has since been disputed. The Senate never ratified this treaty, in accordance with the Constitutional provision regarding treaties, nor did the President proclaim it. Because of these two omissions the Senecas in later years claimed that the treaty was invalidated, and as a test case they brought action against one Christy, occupying a portion of the Cattaraugus Reservation conveyed in this treaty.

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CHAPTER XVII.

SALE OF THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

These sales left the Senecas but relatively small reservations, one at Buffalo Creek a portion of that originally reserved; one at Tonawanda and one at Cattaraugus, each a portion only of the original reservations; the Allegheny Reservation and the square mile at the Oil Spring. There was, however, at this time and during the succeeding few years, the expectation that these must also be relinquished and that the nation must emigrate to Wisconsin.

When the lands at Green Bay were finally secured to the Six Nations, the Senecas were foremost in refusing to remove thither. At the expiration of three years, during which the removal was to have been completed, they united with the Cayugas and Onondagas in requesting that such of the Green Bay lands as should have been allotted to them be exchanged for lands in the Indian Territory. If this were done they could then sell their New York holdings and emigrate. In compliance with this desire, a treaty was negotiated at Buffalo Creek in 1838 by which lands were secured to the Indians and at the same time their New York lands were sold. The events following the negotiation of this treaty were extremely exciting.

The treaty of January, 1838, recites in detail that the Six Nations became convinced soon after the Revolution that eventually they must migrate to the West, and that at a general council of the Six Nations in 1810 a memorial was sent to the President asking for information regarding title to any lands which they might acquire there.

Further, that land was acquired at Green Bay, and that final settlement was made by the United States with the Indian owners in 1831, a settlement to which the Six Nations gave assent in 1832. By this settlement 500,000 acres of land were secured to the Six Nations, and to the St. Regis Indians, on condition that they remove, and had intimated a desire to remove, to the Indian Territory. These had applied to the President to exchange their lands at Green Bay for lands in Indian Territory. The reason for the treaty is said to be the President's desire to comply with the wishes of the Six Nations.

In the treaty the Six Nations ceded to the United States all those lands at Green Bay excepting a tract then occupied by Indians of the Six Nations, that is those who had already removed thence.

In consideration of this cession the United States agreed to set apart for the Six Nations a tract of land comprising 1,825,000 acres, adjoining lands already ceded to the Cherokees, Miamis, and Osages. This was to be divided amongst all the Indians of New York State and to this tract they must remove within five years or forfeit all rights to it.

Of this tract the Senecas were allotted the eastern portion, to include 320 acres of land for each soul of the Senecas.

The treaty specifically recites that the Senecas have at this time sold lands to Thomas L. Ogden and Joseph Fellows, for a consideration of \$202,000. Of this, \$100,000 were to be invested for the Seneca Nation by the President. The remaining \$102,000 were to be paid to the owners of improvements upon the lands in a manner specifically stated.

Further, the United States bound itself to acquire and give the Six Nations a portion of the Cherokee territory, to transport them to their new homes, to erect schools,

churches and council houses, and further to appropriate \$30,000, the income from which would be used to maintain a literary institution amongst them.

When the treaty came before the Senate this amended it by striking out all these latter provisions and inserting one to appropriate \$400,000 to aid in transporting the Indians to their new homes, support them during their first year, erect mills and houses, buy farm animals and tools and to encourage education. With this amendment the treaty was ratified by the Senate, but with the stipulation that before it became binding it must be submitted and fully and fairly explained by a commissioner of the United States to each of such tribes or bands, separately assembled in council, who must give their full and voluntary consent thereto.

During the summer of 1838 the United States Commissioner, Ransom H. Gillett, visited the various Indians in order to secure their assent to this amended treaty. All ratified except the Senecas. In August he came to Buffalo to obtain the assent of the Senecas. With him was General Dearborn, the commissioner of Massachusetts. The latter gentleman kept a journal which is most illuminating.

Active opposition by a large part of the Senecas had already developed before the arrival of the commissioner. The meeting was to have been held in the council-house, but the chiefs were averse to this and would not allow the meeting to be held there. Judge Stryker, the local Indian Agent, erected a large temporary building in which to hold the meeting, but the night before the meeting it was burned, and it was the opinion of many that it had been set on fire by some one of the party opposed to the treaty. Lacking permission to use the council-house, the meeting was held in a grove adjoining their settlement, east of "Allen's tavern."

Of all the personages representing the diverse interests at this meeting a few stand out prominently. Of these, Ransom H. Gillett was one. He was the commissioner who according to the terms of the treaty was to submit it to the nations and "fully and fairly" explain it. He presided at the meetings and performed his duty in a forceful, intelligent manner. General Henry A. S. Dearborn was a commissioner appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to be present at the negotiations. As these involved a transfer of lands, it was necessary, according to the provisions of the New York-Massachusetts agreement in 1786, that a Massachusetts commissioner be present. Of all the persons present, he might be expected to be most disinterested as his sole duty was to signify his approval of the sale should there be one. As a matter of fact he interested himself on behalf of the Indians to such an extent that he gained the respect of both the opposing Seneca parties.

Of these two parties, one opposed the treaty, and was identical with the Pagan party formerly led by Red Jacket. He had died in 1830 and the present leader was Big Kettle. He seems to have been the same that once lived on the Squawky Hill Reservation on the Genesee, or his son. He lived at the eastern extremity of the reservation at East Elma where he had large holdings of land seemingly well improved. He, with the brothers Seneca White and White Seneca, were instrumental in having a saw-mill built at East Elma to which he and others could sell timber. With him in the opposition was Israel Jimierson (Jimerson?) whose violent and uncontrolled actions in the meeting threatened to break it up in riot. Supporting these two were two Buffalo millers, Grosvenor and Heacock. They had leased a right of way for a feed canal from the fork of Buffalo and Cayuga Creeks at the present eastern city line, to their mills on

the present Hydraulic street. Not only was their valuable lease in danger through the sale, but the Indians were heavily in debt to them, and a removal might result in this loss also. Both proved very obnoxious to the two commissioners.

In favor of the treaty there were several chiefs, the most prominent though least active being Pollard; the most active perhaps, Seneca White, a Christian Indian living near East Elma. These and others of the two factions carried on a bitter fight for weeks, from August 20th until October 2d.

The business preliminary to the treaty was speedily transacted. Mr. Gillett stated the object of the meeting and General Dearborn explained his presence there. The next three days were occupied in explaining the articles of the treaty. On August 24th this explanation was concluded, and for several days the Indians deliberated. Finally, each party chose six chiefs, who were to deliberate and report.

They seemed unable to come to a decision, for the commissioners again explained the articles of the treaty, concluding on September 4th.

At this time Big Kettle made a speech opposing giving assent. He was answered by Seneca White. The following day Big Kettle and others spoke, and the council was adjourned so that the Indians could celebrate their Corn Feast.

After the Corn Feast the council met once more and on the several days following there was a general debate amongst the Indians. By September 10th feeling ran high. Several whites, amongst them Mr. Grosvenor, were very active in attempts to induce the chiefs to refuse their assent. After a long speech by Commissioner Gillett in which he brought out several errors in the statements made in debate Big Kettle and an Indian named

Johnson said that he talked too much and that unless the council were ended at once they would go home. Mr. Grosvenor also spoke correcting what he said were false statements made by Mr. Gillett, who at once, amid great excitement, defended his statements. General Dearborn then made a tactful conciliatory speech and the council adjourned quietly. That night an attempt—the third—was made to burn the council-house.

The following day both commissioners laid before the Indians the necessity of ratifying the treaty, giving as an opinion that should they not do so the conveyance of their lands would still be binding, and without the western lands acquired by the treaty, they would be homeless.

On September 14th the ill feeling culminated in a disturbance which bid fair to end in murder. An Indian named Bennett had been maligned the day before by Israel Jimenson (Jimerson?) and spoke in his own defence. A chief named Pierce became turbulent and so insolent that Commissioner Gillett threatened to exclude him. Captain Pollard, called upon to announce the practices in council, was assaulted by Jimenson. Big Kettle seized Seneca White, and Jimenson then throttled the interpreter, Strong. Others raised a war-whoop and the whole assembly rushed threateningly forward to the two commissioners. Order was finally achieved and the meeting broke up.

That evening Strong swore out a warrant against Jimenson and the sheriff was called upon to provide officers to keep the peace.

For four days there was no meeting. Big Kettle and others uttered numerous threats against the commissioners and others. Jimenson was brought before Justice Barton on a charge of assault, and the justice discharged him, much to the disgust of the commissioners, who now

made arrangements to have a military guard of United States troops if necessary.

Three days later the meeting then called in the council-house was again in a turmoil, through utterances of Maris Bryant Pierce and Mr. Heacock. The commissioners ordered the sheriff to put Heacock out. There was an altercation in which Big Kettle told the commissioners that if the council were not ended in a week the Indians would carry them off the reservation bundled up like sacks. Eventually Heacock was put out, order was restored and the council adjourned.

In consequence of a conversation with Mr. Heacock later General Dearborn recommended as conciliatory measures that the Ogden Company be obligated to pay all debts of the Indians and to give any Indian who desired it a lease for life of the lot on which he lived, should he not wish to remove.

On September 28th after these recommendations had been debated at length and accepted, the treaty was presented for signature. Sixteen chiefs signed. After adjournment a large number remained and 64 chiefs signed a dissent to the treaty in the presence of General Dearborn, who certified to this effect. On October 2d, the council adjourned till November 15th.

On November 15th the commissioners returned to Buffalo where, at a hotel, other chiefs signed. It was not until December 26th that negotiations closed. "Thanks to the Lord!" wrote General Dearborn.

His sigh of relief was premature, however. The treaty with its signatures of 41 alleged chiefs was transmitted to the President for his approval. So doubtful was he of its validity that he submitted it to the Senate as it stood and asked the advice of that body. The Senate was also dubious and recommended only that as soon as the President should be satisfied that the assent of the Sene-

cas had been given he should proclaim the treaty. He decided that the only way to satisfy himself about it was to send some disinterested person to investigate the circumstances, and selected for this purpose the Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, whom he ordered to visit the Senecas on the Cattaraugus Reservation and obtain from them a first hand account of their feelings.

After a weary journey Mr. Poinsett arrived at Buffalo where he found awaiting him a number of interested persons, including General Dearborn. They secured passage on a steamer to Cattaraugus Creek, and put up for the night at Irving. The following day, August 13, 1839, they drove six miles up the Cattaraugus Valley to the Seneca Council-House, where they called a meeting of chiefs. Here they heard a number of speakers both for and against the treaty and the following day left Irving with a promise to report the feeling of the Senecas to the President.

With this scanty and incomplete report before him the President on January 14, 1840, transmitted the treaty with a message in which he said: "No advance towards obtaining the assent of the Senecas to the amended treaty, in council, was made,—nor can a majority of them in council be now obtained." However, on March 25, 1840, the Senate ratified the treaty, and on April 4, 1840, the President proclaimed it.

Immediately after the proclamation of the obnoxious treaty the Senecas began agitation to have it annulled. In their efforts they were aided materially by several Societies of Friends who had followed the course of the treaty closely and with deep interest. They had had representatives at the meeting at Cattaraugus in 1839 and had assured themselves that the manner of securing the signatures of the chiefs was fraudulent. Therefore "at a meeting of the Committees of the Four Yearly

Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, on the concern of those meetings for the welfare of the Indian natives of our country, held at Cherry Street meeting-house in the City of Philadelphia Fourth month 7th, 1840, it was agreed to prepare a statement of facts for the information of our own members, in relation to the circumstances of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York."

The Quakers, having been satisfied that the Senecas had been defrauded, sent a memorial to the President showing him by affidavits that several signatures to the treaty alleged to be those of chiefs were in reality not those of chiefs, and further, that without these a majority of chiefs had not signed. Later they sent a memorial to the Senate showing that although the Senate had explicitly instructed the commissioner to obtain the signatures openly in council, he had failed to do this, and that most of those signing had done so secretly in a hotel in Buffalo. A committee of Friends was appointed to wait upon the Governor of Massachusetts protesting against the treaty and urging that he disapprove it. The Senecas also sent a memorial to the President vigorously protesting against the treaty and refused to remove from the lands or relinquish them.

The Quakers further obtained an opinion from able lawyers, most prominent of whom was Daniel Webster, regarding the legality of the treaty. All agreed that as the treaty had been ratified and proclaimed it would be considered valid by the courts. Mr. Webster however suggested that a compromise might be effected with advantage to both parties. The Quakers then took the matter of a compromise to the Secretary of War, who suggested to Mr. Ogden, the trustee of the Ogden Company, that in view of the disputes regarding the title with consequent possible litigation and difficulty of taking pos-

session a compromise might be arranged which might be mutually satisfactory. Mr. Ogden finally agreed to make some concessions, and arrangements were made to negotiate a new treaty. The President appointed Mr. Ambrose Spencer a commissioner, with power to call a meeting at Buffalo Creek to effect a settlement. He assembled the Seneca chiefs at Buffalo and in a very short time negotiated a treaty May 20, 1842, by which the Senecas renounced their claims to the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Creek Reservations; and the Ogden Company, to whom the lands had been deeded in 1838, released to the Indians the Allegheny and the Cattaraugus Reservations, reserving however their pre-emption right to both.

One article of this treaty provided for a board of two members, one to be appointed by the Secretary of War, the other by the Ogden Company, whose duty it should be to ascertain the value of the improved and unimproved lands on the tracts sold. It provided further that surveyors be appointed to make a true and complete report, a copy of which was to be filed with the Secretary of War and one with the Ogden Company. The unimproved lands were to pass into the possession of the company within a month after the report of the board had been filed and the improved property within two years.

The treaty recites that "questions and differences having arisen between the chiefs and headmen of the Senecas and Ogden and Fellows in relation to said indenture of 1838, and the rights and provisions contained in it not having been executed, the said parties have mutually agreed to settle compromise and finally terminate all such questions and differences. . . .

"I. The Senecas may continue in the occupation of the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations with the same right and title in all things as they had and possessed therein immediately before the date of the said indenture,

saving and reserving to the said Ogden and Fellows the right of pre-emption and all other the right and title which they then had or held. . . ."

The treaty further recited that the Senecas confirmed to Ogden and Fellows the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations.

To set a value upon the lands thus sold it was provided in the treaty that Ogden and Fellows should pay to the Seneca Nation "such proportion of the original sum of \$202,000 as the value of all lands within the said two tracts called the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations shall bear to the value of all the lands within all the said four tracts and of the said sum of one hundred and two thousand dollars the said Ogden and Fellows shall pay such proportion as the value of the improvements on the same two tracts shall bear to the value of the improvements on all the said four tracts."

The amount of money to be paid was to be decided by two arbitrators, one to be appointed by the Secretary of War, the other by Ogden and Fellows. These were to appoint "suitable surveyors to explore, examine and report on the value of the said lands and improvements." The arbitrators were to award to each individual Indian the value of his improvements.

Acting upon these terms the Secretary of War appointed Thomas C. Love, and Ogden and Fellows appointed Ira Cook, as the two arbitrators. These employed "suitable surveyors" who examined and reported upon three of the four tracts, namely the Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. Their report dated March 26, 1844, showed the acreage of the Buffalo Creek Reservation to be 49,920 acres; and contained a detailed report of all buildings and farm improvements belonging to the Senecas on all the reservations but the Tonawanda. This latter appears without details. It showed that they had

adjudged that Ogden and Fellows should pay for the lands on the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars; and for the improvements on these the sum of \$58,768.

The report dwells upon the fact that the arbitrators were forcibly prevented by the Senecas on the Tonawanda from surveying or examining their lands, which accounts for the lack of a detailed report on that reservation. They had visited the Tonawanda twice and had met a majority of the Senecas there in council. At both councils the Indians "with unanimous voice and action absolutely and unconditionally refused to permit" them to examine any part of the reservation; and on the occasion of the second council they were "each taken by the arm by a chief and accompanied by him and warriors off the said reservation." Their report of the extent and value of the improvements on the Tonawanda is therefore an estimate only. Seemingly the Tonawanda Senecas did not want to be examined.

The amounts awarded to some of the Indians are interesting. Big Kettle had evidently died before the award was made, for his widow is credited with 35 acres of land, with two houses worth together \$55, and she was awarded \$225.01. Big Kettle's sister had 18 acres of land with a house worth \$30 and a barn worth \$4, and was awarded \$122.29. Jacob Big Kettle, evidently a son, with 22 acres and a house, received \$161.99. A saw-mill owned by the chiefs, probably that at East Elma, was valued at \$300. Jack Berry's widow, for three acres of land and a house received \$26. John Jacket, probably the son of Red Jacket, received \$408.72. Tom Jamison, "Buffalo Tom," received \$2,609.03 for 179 acres. This lay at the junction of the present Seneca and Elk streets, and included rich farming lands, well cultivated, on both sides of Buffalo Creek. The Seneca Nation received for one house, prob-

ably the council-house, \$75 and for their church the sum of \$683.90. Pollard's widow, and George Fox, with 56 acres, a house and barn, received \$915.01. John Seneca's saw-mill with 83 acres of land, brought him \$1432.83, but Seneca White's mill with house and barn brought only \$354.01. For 160 acres of creek land on Seneca street just beyond the present city line, with four houses, three barns and an orchard of 92 trees, Moses Stevenson received \$1623.39. For 25 acres of creek land on Abbott Road near the present Cazenovia Park with two houses, Silverheels received \$174.85. George Wheelbarrow, who lived on Abbott Road at the present Woodside avenue, received \$428.03 for 63 acres with three houses, a cheap barn and an orchard. The Buffalo Creek chiefs fared badly as compared with those at Cattaraugus. They received only \$217.10, for their holdings including a saw-mill, but the Cattaraugus chiefs divided \$1445.85.

Immediately after the awards were made the Senecas began to relinquish their lands and to seek new homes on the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. These were common property of the entire Seneca Nation and were consequently as much the property of these now homeless immigrants as of those who had occupied them for generations. All that was necessary was that the chiefs should allot the newcomers land to live upon. Naturally all the more fertile portions had been already occupied, consequently most of those from Buffalo Creek were allotted the unoccupied, and therefore poorer, land on the hills at the northeastern edge of the Cattaraugus Reservation. Some, perhaps because of their money derived from their holdings at Buffalo Creek, the Jamisons, Silverheels, Stevensons and Whites, and others, acquired farms in the bottoms along Clear and Cattaraugus Creeks.

Not all the landholding Senecas at Buffalo Creek re-

moved, however. Of these, two were Thomas Jamison and Moses Stevenson. Both these were evidently excellent farmers and were prosperous, for Jamison had been awarded \$2609.03 for his improvements, and Stevenson \$1623.39, both large sums for that time. They continued to live on their farms for some years. They sent their children to the public schools which were soon established, and conducted themselves exactly as did their white neighbors. A few people still remember their school days in which the Stevenson and Jamison children were figures. Mr. Richards, still living on Seneca street, can recall his youth when he worked as a farm laborer for Tom Jamison. Mr. Stevenson's house still stands a little south of Seneca street just beyond the city line. Some old apple trees but lately killed and removed, marked the Jamison orchard and barnyard, on Keppel street, and a house once occupied by his son, Chauncey, still stands on Elk street near Bailey avenue.

For many years parties of these expatriated Senecas returned frequently to Buffalo and Cazenovia Creeks. Many came in spring to fish, and the writer can remember frequent parties of Indians in wagons, with fish spears and camp supplies, camping on the banks of Cazenovia Creek within the city limits. Other parties returned annually for many years to visit the graves of their dead at the various villages, and it is less than ten years ago that individual Senecas from Cattaraugus have discontinued visiting the cemetery at East Elma. Farmers now resident in East Elma can remember occasional fishing parties and basket-making camps along Buffalo Creek near that village.

Immediately after the removal of the Indians the reservation was thrown open to settlers and was quickly taken up. Some was taken up in large parcels by speculators like the Wadsworths of Geneseo. A large tract

was purchased by a colony of Germans, who established themselves here in an attempt to live communally. This was known locally as the Ebenezer Community, which built up the present villages of Ebenezer, Gardenville and Blossom. With these German communists came other Germans who bought heavily of the fertile lands of West Seneca and Cheektowaga. Most of the remainder of the reservation was cut up into smaller holdings which were quickly bought by individual purchasers. Some of these at first made their homes in abandoned Indian cabins. One estimable lady of the writer's acquaintance was born here in an Indian log-cabin on land which her father had just bought. In fact, all the buildings left by the Indians were used for one purpose or another. The Indian church, the most pretentious building on the reservation, in time was used as a barn, and it was so used until so recently that most of the older people of South Buffalo can remember it. The Seneca council-house which stood about a hundred yards north of the corner of Littell and Archer streets became a dwelling house. The rough crooked road running to the Seneca village became the Aurora plank road. Saw-mills sprang up and consumed the shadowy forests like fire, leaving the fertile lands available for farms. Crops waved where the red hunter had pursued the deer. The Indian huts gave place to the frame homes of the white farmer and presently disappeared. Only in the memories of the older people remained the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

END.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1918, 1919, 1920



WILLIAM DAVID WALKER, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., 1839-1917.

FIRST MISSIONARY BISHOP OF NORTH DAKOTA, 1883-1896.

THIRD BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK, 1896-1917.

PRESENTATION OF THE BISHOP WALKER MEMORIAL

TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 18, 1918

In the winter of 1918 Mrs. William D. Walker offered to present to the Buffalo Historical Society certain articles which had belonged to her late husband, and were associated with his life and work as Missionary Bishop of North Dakota, and Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Western New York. These articles were deemed of public interest and historic value, and were gratefully accepted by the Board of Managers. A suitable exhibition case was provided, at the joint expense of Mrs. Walker and the Society; and on the afternoon of Saturday, May 18, 1918, the collection, known as the Bishop Walker Memorial, was unveiled and with appropriate exercises was formally presented to the Society.

The Walker Memorial is located in the middle of the large portrait hall, on the second floor of the Historical Building. This room had been temporarily cleared of other exhibits, and seated for the accommodation of the considerable audience which gathered there. Among the specially-invited guests were the officers of the Buffalo chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, and other patriotic societies; many clergy and friends of the late Bishop. The Rev. George F. Williams, rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, directed a squad of Boy Scouts, who served as ushers, and constituted a guard which stood at "attention" around the Memorial during the exercises, and when presentation was made, removed the large flag which had covered it. A drummer and bugler gave signals for opening the exercises. The donor, Mrs.

Walker, was accompanied by her brother, Mr. Louis P. Bach of New York, who spoke for her in the presentation. The Historical Society was represented by its honorary president, Mr. Andrew Langdon; its president, Hon. Henry W. Hill; its vice-president, Mr. Charles R. Wilson, and numerous managers and members.

The exercises opened with the singing of "America," Mr. Seth Clark accompanying at the piano. After an invocation by the Rev. Charles H. Smith, D. D., rector of St. James Episcopal church, Vice-President Wilson addressed the gathering as follows:

MR. WILSON'S GREETING

Mr. President, Mrs. Walker and Ladies and Gentlemen—

In behalf of the Buffalo Historical Society I have the honor and very great pleasure of extending to Mrs. Walker and to you,—the friends and acquaintances of the late Bishop of this Diocese, William David Walker,—a most cordial welcome on this occasion, when we are about to commemorate the life work of Bishop Walker in a fitting and affectionate tribute to his memory. Through the kindly offices of Mrs. Walker there has been prepared under her thoughtful and discriminating care a case, containing the very personal things of the Bishop, endeared to him through association,—individual and ecclesiastical, during his long and active life. This case with its contents (which will be more particularly described by others) Mrs. Walker is about to present to this Society, as it seems to her a suitable and proper custodian of a collection unique in character, and that here the articles may be seen, appreciated and enjoyed by those who knew and loved the Bishop. It was my rare privilege to know him quite intimately during his visit in our home circle, of some seven or eight weeks, as the honored guest of our family when he first came to Buf-

falo to take up his official duties, as the successor to Bishop Coxe, and we continued the same cordial and very happy relations until his death. I feel, therefore, that it is a very pleasant opportunity that is accorded to me in taking a small part in the dedicatory exercises this afternoon.

I now have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Louis P. Bach of New York, the brother of Mrs. Walker, who will formally present to this Society these chosen articles as duly provided through the generous and courteous offer of Mrs. Walker. He will be followed by our President, Hon. Henry W. Hill, who will accept the same for the Society, and then we shall have the pleasure of hearing Rev. Charles A. Jessup, Rector of St. Paul's Church, representing the clergy of this Diocese. May I again extend our kindly greetings to you all.

As Mr. Bach came forward in response to the introduction, the bugle sounded, and Boy Scouts from Trinity and St. Mary's-on-the-Hill unveiled the memorial. Mr. Bach said:

REMARKS OF MR. LOUIS P. BACH

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—

I am a stranger within your gates, known to but very few in this hall, and I could not take the least umbrage if the question arose in your minds: what justification existed for having accorded to me the great privilege and honor of participating in these proceedings which so intimately and so peculiarly concern the members of the Diocese of Western New York as well as the citizens at large of your thriving and attractive city.

You will believe me, I know, when I assure you most sincerely that this privilege was unsought by me, and I am here only in deference to the wish and request of one

who is very dear and close to me in kinship, and I could not bring myself to refuse her earnest request to represent and to speak for her, who is the donor of this memorial to the late Bishop Walker.

Although, as a material fact, I am a stranger coming from the great Metropolis at the other end of the State, yet, in spirit, there must be a bond of sympathy, unconscious though it may be, between those, who, although scattered to the far corners of the earth, have sat at the feet of the same spiritual leader, have been blest by the same ministrations, and have been comforted and counseled by the same Christian worker, pastor and friend.

It is a noteworthy and beautiful thought that inspires those pupils who have been privileged to study under some one great master of music or of painting, or under some great teacher, or under a great scientist, to feel themselves more strongly bound by a common tie because of the inestimable privilege and influence which they have enjoyed as distinguished from all other students seeking knowledge in similar fields. Therefore, how infinitely more grappling, surpassingly more strengthening, should be the bonds that link together in the spirit of appreciation and thankfulness those who were privileged to enjoy the affection and the benign influence of a master minister of Christ!

Ladies and Gentlemen, in this spirit, I beg you not to look upon me as a stranger for I, too, knew Bishop Walker well,—very well. Indeed, I cannot remember the time when as children in our household we did not know him.

Childhood recollections, with their vivid imagery, implanted pictures of this dear guardian of our youth upon our hearts and very souls which will never be effaced until eyelids droop and close for eternal rest. More than two score years have passed, yet how ineffably clearly

stand out his morning visits to the little parish-school out of which he reared a congregation of youths and maidens, later the men and women, who fairly idolized their pastor, the Vicar of Calvary Chapel! Yet again, and quite as clearly, can I see the picture of the Confirmation Classes and the First Communion he administered to us. Again comes before me the memory of the meetings and activities of the youthful Chapel Organizations of which we were so proud, and which he guided with such consummate benevolence and helpfulness. Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will bear with me and forgive me for indulging in these happy reminiscences, but I cannot avoid doing so because my whole life seems to have been spent in and about the very ground which was the center of his beneficent activities as Vicar of Calvary Chapel. From earliest school days I have passed the years of my life in daily travel through the same thoroughfare over which the innumerable errands of mercy, and of Christian duty, sad or happy as they might be, necessitated the countless thousands of steps which were taken by him for the comfort, happiness and guidance of not only his parishioners, but of any others in distress or need.

Even now as I go and come daily from my business I pass the spots where stood the first Calvary Chapel, a dingy brown little building somewhat hazy in my memory, and then directly opposite where stood the second Chapel building raised and built entirely through his unflagging will and effort—a beautiful little church in which he took such pride, and which was known more easily by preference and affection as “Dr. Walker’s Church” by the good people of the parish.

These landmarks have long since passed, and as I trace my steps where once stood also the homes of so many of his people of whom quite a few have gone on

their last long journey, I can still see in spirit and in memory, the lithe and active figure flitting from church to home, or from home to home, always a welcome and beloved guest, striving, cheering and helping—a real Shepherd of his flock. My friends, in those days, the title of Vicar was not very significant to us, in fact, I cannot recall that it was commonly used. We only knew Doctor Walker as our Pastor, the one man we looked to in every emergency, in every trial, in every sorrow, and in every joy, for comfort, for strength, for advice, and for help if need be, and thanks be to God, these were always forthcoming. Then later came our great trial when it was borne in upon us that he had been elected Missionary Bishop to North Dakota. In that far-away time we did not know much about North Dakota; it was not yet a State of the Union, and in our disappointment it did not seem much of a place to send our Dr. Walker to. But again he knew better. In his great and calm vision he saw the need and the duty and like a true soldier of Christ he enthusiastically and with characteristic energy accepted the call that involved the severance of the beautiful ties with a people who loved him, and the sacrifice of the comfort and the dignity which the pastorate of a metropolitan parish afforded. But he stood ready and anxious to enter this new sphere, in an isolated region, sparsely settled and but little known, simply for the service of God, and the benefit of mankind. Leaving behind him the refinements of city life and associations, he determined to carry the Gospel to every corner of this new missionary district. No task was too arduous; no community, whatever its complexion, whether red faces or pale faces, gamblers or derelicts, that did not respond to his ministration. In his unique Cathedral Car (which by the way carried as part of its appurtenances gifts and mementos from Calvary Chapel) he solved many

of his ministerial difficulties by going to the people, if they would not come to him. At the same time feeling no indignity in being his own caretaker, his own lamp-lighter, his own fireman, and car cleaner, and if you will forgive the frivolous play of words he was not only a Missionary but a Commissary Bishop as well.

After a number of years of service in this far-off field came the call from your diocese, a fitting reward in recognition of the achievements he accomplished in the wilds of the Northwest. Of the hold he took upon your hearts and the manner in which he exercised the prerogatives of his great and Holy Office among you I need not speak, for the loyal and affectionate support which the clergy and the people of this Diocese accorded him without stint and without reservation filled his cup of happiness to overflowing.

Two weeks before he passed away, it was my pleasure to be a guest at his home for a few days. One afternoon he drove me about your city and its suburbs, and though showing the marks of illness, his face fairly glowed as he pointed out the churches of his diocese, all displaying the flag of our country. His spirit of patriotism was as pure, as vigorous, and inspiring as his religion. On the following Sunday he officiated at St. Mary's Church, at which the rector delivered a most beautiful and touching address of welcome to the Bishop, felicitating him on the resumption of his duties, but nevertheless kindly, yet firmly admonishing the Bishop that he could not permit him to overtax his strength by making an address to the congregation. Nothing daunted, however, the Bishop waved the kindly rector aside and with the American flag before the altar he delivered one of the most powerful and appealing patriotic addresses I have ever heard. After reaching his home, I asked him why he had acted at variance with the kindly advice of the

rector, to which he replied: "Well, after I had listened to all that the people of the congregation and the rector were doing and contemplating for the boys of the 74th Regiment that were about to enter the service of the country, I simply could not keep quiet." Almost his last utterances in public were directed towards an unqualified loyalty to our country and its flag. As he was a soldier of Christ, so was he also a soldier of the State. His abhorrence of the indescribably cruel and unrighteous conduct of the autocracies that have caused the terrible cataclysm which has engulfed the world, inspired him to an ardent and whole-souled advocacy of the cause of our country and its allies.

The Gospel that Bishop Walker preached was plain and understandable to a layman. There was nothing iconoclastic in his interpretation of the Word of God. In all things he had a profound reverence for simple righteousness and truth, and was impatient to a degree of indignation with the sensational desire for change which never sees virtue in any custom, ceremony, precept, or belief unless it be changed simply for the sake of alleged modernizing. A prophet is one who sees and expounds the truth in advance of his contemporaries, and surely no more prophetic words applicable to the present agonizing conditions which the world is enduring were ever uttered than those Bishop Walker spoke in a sermon on Christian Charity, written as long as forty years ago, as follows: "It is cowardice to yield a hair for the sake of peace or unity or any other reason when it is at the cost of principle."

He brooked no compromise with the right or the true, and with all his cheeriness of manner and gentleness of spirit he nevertheless set his face and heart sternly and irrevocably against the evasions, hypocrasies and glittering superficialities of so-called modern cults and schools

of thought, as well as the sinister tendencies of political leanings towards socialism and communism. Brave and faithful until death, beloved and revered by man, woman and child, simple and beautiful in his unshakable belief in a merciful and ever-living God, can it not be said of him, as Tennyson says:

Tho' world on world in myriad myriads roll
Round us, each with different powers
And other forms of life than ours,
What know we greater than the soul?
On God and God-like men we build our trust.

Peace and rest came to him just as he would have wished. Active and useful in the service of the Master to the last moment, death came to him, not as the pall of midnight folds its mantle of darkness around a tired earth, but with the light-streams of a new day warming and illuminating the path to a new and everlasting life.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, this case containing university robes, caps, degrees, insignia of office, and other personal articles belonging to the official life and work of the late Bishop Walker, is offered to your institution as a gift by his wife. I hope I will not be misunderstood in commenting upon the beautiful communion of spirit, of affection and of trust that existed between Bishop Walker and the donor of this memorial. I am tempted to say it was almost unusual, but fear the exaggeration, yet truly, even though I might be charged with nepotic admiration, the attachment of each to the other, the never-changing helpfulness and thoughtfulness that each lavished on the other, ever seemed to me growing in beauty; and no wife could ever have held greater happiness as her lot than to serve with a nobleman, as was Bishop Walker, in the works of the Lord and for the welfare of their fellow-beings. I can say for her in presenting this Memorial to the people of the Diocese and the city of Buffalo that it is

done out of the thankfulness of her heart for the surpassing loyalty, fidelity and sympathy which was always accorded to the Bishop and for the cordial and affectionate evidences of kindness and good-will which were at all times showered on her.

However, I would be performing the service delegated to me very imperfectly if I omitted an emphatic reference to the fact that this Memorial in its concrete form represents not alone her own personal tribute; but in its consummation those who contributed the materials, the willing hands that gave it form, and the master mind that gave it design, were equally moved by sympathetic respect and reverence to do honor to the Churchman, the Citizen and the Patriot.

Furthermore, I do not think the concept of this Memorial would express its loftiest purpose had it been intended merely as a vehicle to display the rewards that were meted out to the Bishop for his great learning, or the insignia of the high distinctions he achieved in his earthly career. Quite to the contrary, for as the loving heart often in solitude and reverence withdraws from its secret resting place the trinket, the faded portrait, or the lock of hair of a departed dear one in order to revivify the most tender memories, so the purpose of this gift, as I divine it, is that those who dwelt in the light of his countenance and who lived under the spell of the radiant Christianity of this good Bishop may have opportunity, as they may wish, to refresh themselves with the sweet and ennobling memories of his earthly ministration by tarrying in quiet retrospection and reverent contemplation before this Memorial.

Mr. Chairman and Members, on behalf of Mrs. Walker and in the spirit of which I have spoken, and in affectionate memory of the Rt. Rev. Wm. D. Walker, Third Bishop of Western New York, it is my great privilege to present

this case and its contents to your society, and in the same spirit, I am sure it will be accepted, guarded and cherished by you for the benefit of the people of Buffalo, and of the Diocese of Western New York.

In accepting the Memorial, President Hill for the Historical Society spoke as follows:

ACCEPTANCE, BY PRESIDENT HILL

I am authorized by the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society in its name to accept the case presented by Mrs. William David Walker containing the personal, ecclesiastical and academic caps, hoods, rings, watch and chain, robe, seal, family coat-of-arms, pectoral cross presented by Père Hyacinthe to Bishop Coxe, by the latter to Bishop Walker, and other insignia of the late Bishop's cultural, clerical and official activities and acquisitions during a useful and prolonged life, extending from June 29th, 1839, to May 2nd, 1917.

The Buffalo Historical Society will preserve and protect this Memorial as it does its other priceless collections, comprising the memorabilia in whole or in part of many, who have contributed something to the uplift of the life of this region from its aboriginal occupation to its present intensive activity. Generations come and go, but we trust this institution may go on through the centuries, discovering, collecting and preserving, as its founders designed it should do, memorials not only of the city and country, but also of individuals for the benefit of those who may fill their places in the future business growth and intellectual progress of this country. It is, therefore, eminently proper that the ecclesiastical and academic insignia of the late lamented Right Reverend William David Walker, D. D., LL.D., D. C. L., third bishop of the Diocese of Western New York, be placed in

the custody of this institution, where the clergy and laity of the diocese and the faculties and students of Hobart and De Veaux Colleges and of De Lancey Divinity School, as well as of all other institutions over which the lamented Bishop presided, may find the insignia of preferment and honor, in which their beloved Bishop was held at home and abroad.

Rarely does it fall to the lot of any one person to be so signally honored. An alumnus of Columbia University in 1859, a graduate of the General Theological Seminary in 1862, he received the degree of D. D. from Racine College and the degree of S. T. D. from Columbia University, both in 1884; the degree of LL.D. from Griswold College in 1888, the degree of D. C. L. from Kings College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1890, and the degree of LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin, and the degree of D. D. from Oxford University, England, both in the year 1894. He was the Select Preacher at Cambridge University, England, in 1897.

The insignia of most of these academic honors are included in the glass case now presented to the Society. Here they will be preserved as a memorial to one whose scholarship was genuine and whose devotion was steadfast to the duties of the several exalted stations so well filled by him.

In his long and useful service there "was no variable-ness, neither shadow of turning." Through the evolutionary crisis from 1870 to 1890, that swept the scientific and educational institutions, throwing them into confusion as a storm sweeps the sea, throwing its waters into unutterable commotion, he clung to the Bible, as did Mr. Gladstone, who characterized it, "The impregnable rock of Holy Scripture." His answer to the assertions of skeptics that science had demolished the very foundations of the church, was that "in the last sixty years every ex-

ploration in Egypt, in Moab, in Babylonia, in Arabia, in Palestine, in Rome, had but confirmed Old Testament or New."

In this sermon on the Bible, he said: "It (the Bible) stands apart and alone on a mountain crest where Heaven's eternal sunshine plays, and where the Almighty sits in majesty revealing His gracious pity and His abounding purity and love to the children of men." His messages were direct and practical. There was no mysticism in them. They may be read with profit by all, who would think straight on matters transcending all others in importance.

In reading them one is reminded of the force and fervor of Richard Hooker and of the simplicity and optimism of the late Bishop Brooks.

Bishop Walker was the third Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York. His predecessors were the Right Reverend William Heathcote De Lancey, D. D., LL.D., D. C. L., who became Bishop of the diocese in 1839, and the Right Reverend Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D. D., LL.D., D. C. L., who was consecrated Bishop of the diocese in 1865. All three were men of large vision, broad sympathies and profound veneration for the apostolic succession of the mantle of authority from generation to generation. Their good works extended far beyond the confines of Western New York, where their influence in moulding, refining and uplifting character left an enduring impression.

Bishop Walker pursued his labors in widely separated fields. For 21 years after his ordination on June 29th, 1863, as priest in Calvary Church, New York City, his energies were directed towards the building of Calvary Free Chapel. He was chosen the first bishop of the Missionary District of North Dakota in 1883, where he labored for 13 years. During that period he made his re-

pert to the President and Congress on the Sioux and Chippewa Indians.

In 1887, he was appointed by President Cleveland, a member of the Indian Commission. His Western Episcopate was so extensive and churches therein so scattered and unequipped, that he designed for use a "Cathedral Car," furnished with altar, font, lectern, organ and seats to administer to thousands scattered over the prairies of the Dakotas. That type of missionary car was adopted later by many denominations. During the failing years of of the late Bishop Coxe, he called to his assistance Bishop Walker and a strong friendship grew up between them, so that the former was moved to and did formally present to the latter the Pectoral Cross received from Père Hyacinthe, the bold reformer and commissioner to England in 1870. The friendship between the two Bishops was thus cemented by a gift that recalled the great work of Father Hyacinthe in England in 1870, for the relief of the distressed peasantry of France during and after the war with Germany in 1870 and 1871. It also recalled the work of Bishop Coxe, who preceded Bishop Walker.

It was a matter of course that in 1896, after the death of Bishop Coxe, Bishop Walker was chosen Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York, where he labored incessantly for twenty-one years. Others will speak of his work in this Diocese. During that time he was appointed by Governor Roosevelt and served on a special commission to investigate the condition of the Indians in New York State for which he was admirably prepared after his long ministry to them in the West.

His activities in this Diocese were increasingly absorbing and his home at the See House became a mecca, whither diocesan members repaired in large numbers for advice, counsel and comfort.

Bishop Walker was a great uplifting power in the re-

ligious life of this city. His was a clear steady light that illumined all who came within the sphere of its effulgence. He was commanding in appearance as he was in intellect. He was genial in temperament, but stood through all the transmutations of religious belief like a rock of defense o' the immutability of the Holy Scriptures and the canons of the Church founded thereon.

Bishop Walker was well known abroad, as well as in America. He preached in St. Paul's Cathedral in London in 1887 and in Westminster Abbey, London, in 1888, and read a paper on "Domestic Missions" in St. James' Hall, London, in 1888, and another on "Missions in the United States" in the same place in 1894.

Thus was afforded him opportunity to present to the Church of another country his messages, which awakened deep interest in the religious culture of this country and established still closer relations between the English speaking peoples. He was quite as welcome among the scholarly and distinguished clergy of the Church of England as he was among his own people in America. That is a tribute to his fine scholarship and good repute in foreign lands.

The last of the Bishop's pastoral Easter Messages was read in the 150 churches of Western New York on April 8th, 1917. It was a patriotic appeal to the clergy and laity to uphold the rights and liberties that inhere in the very being of manhood against the aggressions of a Power that "sheds the innocent babies' blood and drowns the unarmed and helpless in the depth of the sea."

On April 15th, 1917, Bishop Walker officiated at the "Trooping of the Colors" at St. Paul's Church in this city prior to the departure of some of Buffalo's military organizations to participate in the Great War devastating portions of Europe.

On April 24th, he presided at the annual meeting of

the Archdeaconry of Buffalo and on the second following day at a similar meeting in Rochester.

His long life was full of good works and many of them were performed in the Diocese of Western New York. These and his noble life for the uplift of his fellow men will in some degree be perpetuated in memory by the memorial now presented by Mrs. Walker to the Buffalo Historical Society. This the Society gratefully accepts and will jealously house and protect.

After the audience had joined in singing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the Rev. Charles A. Jessup, D. D., rector of St. Paul's, spoke as follows for the clergy of the diocese:

DR. JESSUP'S ADDRESS FOR THE CLERGY

You have heard adequate and fitting reference to the character and influence of Bishop Walker as a citizen. And no occasion of this sort will be complete unless emphasis has been laid upon the fact that he was enthusiastically loyal to the country of his birth, and deeply interested in all that concerned its best interests and highest welfare. More than one object in this case, which furnishes an unusual but most fitting memorial of him, evidences the fact that he did not forget or neglect his duty as a citizen of our great Republic. Although his career on earth was finished very soon after our country declared war on the German Empire, his heart had not been neutral, so far as the interest of the great conflict was concerned, since the very outbreak of the war. He saw clearly the moral and spiritual questions involved in the struggle. And I, for one, confess that I have been increasingly impressed, as the months and the years pass, with the clearness and soundness of his views as to the great moral and spiritual issues which brought on the conflict and which are involved in it.

It may not be known to some of you that it was with difficulty that he was dissuaded from attempting to march in the great patriotic parade held in this city in June, 1916, notwithstanding the fact that at that time he was a very ill man, although he himself could not be brought to believe it.

I should be doing violence to my feelings if I did not allude at this time to an occasion in which he was the chief figure, both as a citizen and as a Bishop. Those of us who were present when he blessed the flags of the Buffalo Naval and Military organizations, which were brought to Saint Paul's Church for that purpose, will not soon forget the deep solemnity of his bearing and the earnest and fervent tones of his voice. The memory of this event is more deeply stamped upon our minds because this was his last service in which he took part, in a church which he loved to attend.

One passes easily from the consideration of this service where Bishop Walker took part and in connection with which one thinks of him not only as a prelate of the Church but also as a loyal citizen, to the thought of his ecclesiastical labors. And it must never be forgotten that the responsibilities which his Church laid upon him always had first place in his thoughts. Many of the objects which are now given into custody of our Historical Society evidence this fact. His sermon cover is by no means the least interesting of the objects here displayed. How many years it was used, I do not know. But many of us have seen it frequently, and we know that the responsibilities of preaching the gospel, of which it is an outward and visible sign, were to him both a burden and a delight.

His pectoral cross, worn as a Bishop, which came to him from his illustrious and scholarly predecessor in this See, the Right Reverend Arthur Cleveland Coxe, is an-

other outward and visible sign of his office. And the thought that he carried the responsibilities and discharged the duties of the Episcopate for more than thirty-five years is a deeply impressive thought. Few Bishops of our generation in any branch of the Christian Church have served longer in this high office. And when one remembers that he was pleased to say, and he said it with thankfulness and not with boastfulness, that during a period of thirty-four years he had never missed an appointment, one realizes that the record of his service in his high office was indeed unique. He was devoted to his work as a Bishop. He never spared himself. Few outside the immediate circle of his home knew how constantly and unceasingly he gave himself to his labors. Early and late he worked, traveling, holding services, preaching, holding innumerable conferences. And those nearest to him are thankful that he had the great happiness, just before the end of his earthly labors, of resuming his public duties, after a considerable period when, by his physician's orders, he was obliged to abstain from taking part in the public ministrations of the Church. During the few weeks immediately preceding his translation to a higher sphere, he was able to officiate again, to confirm many candidates and to visit the more distant parts of the Diocese. He thought that he was recovering, and he rejoiced most in the prospect of being able to resume all his duties as a Bishop. But when the end of the earthly chapter was approaching, God gave it to him to know the fact, and I like to think of him as saying, without a tremor, "I believe that this is the end," and then passing onward and upward with the believing prayer of a humble child of God upon his lips, asking God's pardon and forgiveness and His acceptance into the Heavenly Home.

It should be remembered also that while he was unable to officiate publicly during the greater part of the last

year of his life, more confirmations were reported in 1917, in the Diocese of Western New York, than in any year for a decade. His work was ever his first thought—and I say this without hesitation in the presence of the gracious lady who was indeed a “helpmeet for him,”—and that work continued to have first place even during these later months when great physical exertion was a burden to him. Some of us know how earnestly he desired to establish a mission of our Church in Northern Buffalo, and how he visited that section constantly with this thought in his mind. The fact that the mission was not established was not due to any failure on his part, either of interest or effort.

During the years of my acquaintance with Bishop Walker, and they covered a period of time much longer than my residence in the Diocese of Western New York, I have never ceased to wonder, with constant surprise, at his ability to keep, what I call, his rule of courtesy. This rule was, never to deny himself to any person who called upon him. Whether the caller were a brother Bishop or a tramp, Bishop Walker was always able to receive the visitor, to give him as much time as courtesy demanded, and to treat him with that lack of haste which is characteristic either of men of leisure or of very busy men. Some of us who have far less exacting duties are unable to observe such a rule as this.

But most of all he desired to see the clergy of his Diocese and to be seen by them readily and freely. Only those who knew the working of his home can realize how much time he gave to personal conferences. He wished to be a “Father in God,” a title of high honor given to a Bishop by that Prayer Book which was dearer to him than any other book, the Bible alone excepted. Not only in Western New York, but scattered all over the country, are clergymen who recall with feelings of deepest emo-

tion the conferences which they had with Bishop Walker in his official capacity. And the personal element was not eliminated from these conferences, although one never forgot that it was a Bishop to whom one was speaking. He received many academic honors, but none I am sure that he prized more than that title of which he desired to be worthy, the title of "Father in God."

The exercises closed with the Doxology and Benediction.

The Bishop Walker memorial case is a rectangular upright museum showcase of special but simple design, six and one-half feet high, about five feet by twenty inches, of bronze and glass, and was designed from a sketch by Mrs. Walker, who also arranged the exhibits. The articles are all numbered, corresponding to a numbered list in the case, as follows:

CONTENTS OF THE BISHOP WALKER MEMORIAL CASE

1. Convocation Robe, Oxford University (D.D.).
2. Episcopal Cap, Oxford University.
3. Hood, Oxford University (D.D.).
4. Cap, Oxford University.
5. Hood, Trinity College, Dublin (LL.D.).
6. Cap, "Bishop Andrews."
7. Hood, Columbia College (S.T.D.).
8. Cap, Biretta.
9. Hood, Racine College, Wis. (D.D.).
10. Cap, Zuchetto.
11. Pectoral Cross; presented by Père Hyacinthe to Bishop Coxe, 1888-1893; presented to Bishop Walker, 1896.
12. Episcopal Ring, Western New York.
13. Episcopal Ring, North Dakota.
14. Personal Ring, Bishop Walker.
15. Watch and Chain, Bishop Walker.
16. Gavel; presented by the Woman's Auxiliary, Junior Auxiliary and Babies' Branch, Western New York, September 29, 1904.
17. Sermon Cover.
18. Photograph: See House, No. 314 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo.
19. Photograph: See House, No. 367 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo.
20. Photograph: Cathedral Car, North Dakota. Exterior.
21. Photograph: Cathedral Car, North Dakota. Interior.
22. Peace Pipe, smoked at Council of Sioux Indians.

23. Bead Souvenirs, presented by Sioux Indians, North Dakota.
24. Stiletto, acquired in Sicily.
25. Indian Commission, President Cleveland, 1887.
26. Indian Commission, Governor Roosevelt, 1900.
27. Election to Diocese of Western New York.
28. Photograph of Bishop Walker.
29. Diocesan Seal, Western New York.
30. Walker Family Coat-of-Arms.
31. Model of Cross on Bishop Walker's grave; and
32. Model of Marker, Kensico Cemetery, N. Y.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 7, 1919

The fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 7, 1919. Mr. A. J. Elias was made chairman, and after routine business was transacted, Messrs. Andrew Langdon, Loran L. Lewis, Jr., Carlton R. Perrine, George A. Stringer and Frank H. Severance were reelected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years.

The annual reports of the President, Hon. Henry W. Hill, and of the Secretary, Frank H. Severance, submitted at this meeting, here follow:

PRESIDENT HILL'S ADDRESS

*Officers and Members of the Buffalo Historical Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The year 1918, A. D., was an eventful one the world over, even more so than any one of the three preceding years, momentous as they were in the world's history.

Buffalo was notably affected by the general conditions prevailing throughout the country. In common with other American cities, it was drawn from its normal commercial and industrial life into military activities, which added much to its history. It is too early to commit that to writing. Much remains to be brought together in permanent form. All that can be done now is to mention some of the matters that will form a part of that history yet to be written. Buffalo has no small part in New York's contribution to the aid of the nation in the great

war. That history will include a record of Buffalo's contributions to the forces and sinews of war and of the heroic sacrifices made by its citizens.

On this occasion I will attempt only a brief survey of some of the more notable events of local importance that will indicate something of their historical significance. These are not all, but are sufficient to illustrate the range and importance of such events of the year 1918 as matters of local history.

From the time of the declaration of war by the United States of America against the Imperial German Government on April 6, 1917, and the entrance of this nation into the great European war, the peaceful pursuits of the citizens of this country, which had been lulled into a sense of security in the long period of tranquility in America, were disturbed by the rapid succession of events, indicative of a nation suddenly plunged into war. That condition continued through the year 1917, and increased in intensity as the aspects of the conflict became more menacing to the allied armies. Such was the case until the tide of battle was turned by a division of marines and other American troops in the first battle at Chateau Thierry and at Belleau Wood on June 6 and 7, 1918. Buffalo made liberal contributions of its eligible manhood and of its resources to aid this nation in alliance with France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy, to win the war, which threatened the very perpetuity of free institutions. Its citizens responded gallantly and liberally to all appeals of the nation. Many of them voluntarily enlisted in the army, or in the navy, or in the aviation service, or in some other department or branch of the Federal service; while thousands were called under the first and second selective draft measures of Congress. Members of the professional and business classes volunteered in large numbers to enter and serve in the army, navy, aviation and in

the several auxiliary branches of the service, including base hospitals, American Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus and other organizations. These war service calls made extraordinary demands upon the citizens of Buffalo, and it may be found that a majority of the householders of this city have thus made some direct or collateral manhood contribution to the forces of the nation. In addition to all such contributions, down to November 11, 1918, there were intense industrial and other activities due to the war, among the people in all parts of the city.

Buffalo's commercial and industrial enterprises were transformed into factories for the production of the munitions of war as well as war supplies. So general was the transformation that Buffalo became one of the principal war industrial centers of the country.

All such extraordinary activities of the citizens of Buffalo during the year 1918, and others hereinafter mentioned, have made more apparent than have the events of any previous year, the wisdom of the founders of this Society in making it an institution for the collation and preservation of the essentials of local history. Never in any one year before in the history of Buffalo have occurred so many events of historical significance and worthy of permanent record. A few only of the most important ones can be mentioned on this occasion.

Buffalonians were engaged in various branches of the service and in war activities to an unusual degree, and their record will constitute an important chapter in the history of the city. All these, added to the normal activities of the city, made the year 1918 a memorable one.

It is within the scope of the work of this Society to collect and preserve, as far as practicable, the data, out of which the local history of the period may eventually be written. This will necessitate the collection of military, naval and other official records of Buffalonians, who may

have entered the service of the United States, as well as a record of such services, whether foreign or domestic; and the positions occupied and services performed in winning the great world war.

The honor roll of Buffalonians who made the supreme sacrifice for home, country and humanity will be a lengthy one.

A record may very properly also be made of the various auxiliary organizations of women here and in all the allied countries, which contributed in no small degree to the success of their armies. Buffalo had a prominent part in all such work and it will be one of the memorable events in its history, that in the greatest conflict in the history of the world, it had some part in winning the victory for democracy over military despotism. All who may have done anything to that end, will have the satisfaction of knowing that their efforts were not in vain, and that their liberties, as well as those of all the peoples of the allied nations, have been preserved in the triumph of right over might.

The full extent of the participation of Buffalonians in the great war is not yet known here and it is too early to attempt to extend to individuals the full measure of praise severally due them. However, that will be done as time goes on, undoubtedly in a manner in keeping with their heroic services. Some have already been signally rewarded by France, Great Britain, Italy or the United States.

Millard Fillmore, the first President of this Society, in outlining its purposes, said: "Let this institution be the grand repository of everything calculated to throw light on our history." The history of Buffalo would be incomplete without a record of the participation of its citizens in and of its activities in relation to a war, whose unsuccessful termination on the part of the allied powers,

might have endangered the free institutions of Western Europe.

Buffalo has sustained many losses in killed in the great war and many of its soldiers have been wounded and others maimed for life. Every effort should be made to obtain and preserve a record of all such sacrifices. This Society is doing what it can to that end.

All classes have devoted their energies and their resources in aiding the nation, allied with other nations, to win the war. Corporal Jack F. Koons of the 37th Division, at the signing of the armistice wrote from Belgium to his mother in Cincinnati as follows: "Thank God, America has played her part effectively, energetically and well."

Similar reports came from all the western battle-fronts, where the American armies performed most heroic services and won most signal victories over the veteran forces of the Central Powers, even to turning the tide of battle at Chateau Thierry, the ejection of the German army from the strongly fortified Saint Mihiel salient, held by it for four years, and the taking of that celebrated stronghold, Sedan, which had been held by the Germans since the first year of the great war. It will be remembered that Sedan was surrendered to the Germans by the French just before the close of the Franco-Prussian War, but was not retained by them. In some of these contests, the Buffalo regiments suffered heavily losses, as appeared in the lists of casualties of the forces in those engagements, and from official reports of the Regular Army. This Society is already compiling data and accumulating records in relation to the participation of Buffalonians in the great war.

Some record should be made of enrollment under the selective service laws.

SELECTIVE SERVICE LAWS.

The Selective Service Laws, from the one first approved on May 18, 1917, under which the Judge Advocate General was detailed as Provost Marshal-General by the Secretary of War and charged with the execution of that part of said act which related to the registration and the selective draft, were not in all respects identical. The first act provided for registrants between 21 and 30 years of age, of which on June 5, 1917, there were 9,587,000 in the United States. On May 20, 1918, the President approved the Joint Resolution of Congress, whereby quotas to be furnished by the several states were apportioned according to the number of registrants in Class "A," instead of according to population, and it applied to all men who had attained the age of 21 years between June 5, 1917, and June 5, 1918, when pursuant to the President's proclamation 736,000 men registered. On August 24, 1918, under the preceding Joint Resolution, and a further proclamation of the President, there also were enrolled 158,000 males subject to military service.

On August 31, 1918, Congress amended the Selective Service Law so as to provide for the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 45 years. Such registration was held on September 12, 1918, resulting in the further registration of 13,228,000 males, thus bringing the grand total up to 23,700,000 registrations in the United States. Of that number 2,801,635 were inducted into military service. In addition to these were the enlistments from the Regular Army and the National Guard, which brought the entire army up to 3,441,000. Of this number 328,000, or 9½ per cent, were from the State of New York. The enrollment in Buffalo on June 5, 1917, consisted of 59,278 registrants between the ages of 21 and 30

years, and on June 5th and August 24, 1918, of those who attained the age of 21 years between June 5, 1917, and June 5, 1918, and August 24, 1918, were 4,901; but the climax was reached on September 12, 1918, when there were 76,419 registrants between the ages of 18 and 45 years, making a grand total for Buffalo of 140,598 registrants. Of these there were inducted into the military service of the United States approximately 16,234, sent in separate detachments to various cantonments during 1917 and 1918. These were exclusive of enlistments into the Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard and special Army branches. In addition to these Buffalo supplied such organizations as the former 74th and former 65th Regiments of the National Guard and Troop "I" of the first regiment of the New York Cavalry. These did not include the Buffalonians who were in the Regular Army and Navy and such as enlisted in Canadian and other allied armies. At present we have no official records of such enlistments, but there were many.

In addition to the foregoing were the enlistments from Buffalo in the Navy and in the aviation service of the United States and of the allied nations. On April 12, 1918, two hundred men on the waiting list of the Naval Reserve were sworn in and sent to training stations. Groups of other enlistments were sent from time to time to the Great Lakes Training Station, in May, June, July, August and September, 1918.

In addition to the foregoing manhood contributions to the military, naval and aviation forces of the nation, was the staff of the Buffalo Base Hospital No. 23 under the supervision of Dr. Marshall Clinton and 226 assistants. A score or more of physicians are in the Volunteer Medical Service Corps. Several Buffalo physicians held commissions in the overseas hospital service. Many physicians, surgeons and nurses volunteered and entered the

medical service. On April 7, 1918, Health Commissioner Dr. Frances E. Fronczak was appointed a major in the army and sent to Camp Upton. Capt. A. L. Benedict, M. D., was sent to the Base Hospital at Camp Dix; and Dr. W. W. Plummer was promoted to the rank of major and assigned as a consultant to a group of base hospitals in the Saint Mihiel sector. There mobile hospitals were of great service in relieving the suffering of the wounded.

In July, 1918, a hundred or more nurses entered the army and navy service. Many others prior thereto had also entered the service.

In February ten Buffalonians volunteered for the Engineer Corps. Others entered the Quartermaster's Corps. Many went into Red Cross work overseas. Others became active in such humanitarian agencies as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the War Camp Community Service, the Jewish Welfare Relief and in other charitable and War Relief organizations. All these agencies rendered humanitarian services overseas on the several battle fronts in ministering to the sick and wounded and in relieving the distress of the people in the regions devastated by war. In time complete record ought to be made of all such manifold services of Buffalonians.

Buffalo's activities in 1918 also included its several campaigns for various war funds.

TWO LIBERTY LOAN CAMPAIGNS.

The Third and Fourth United States Liberty Loan Campaigns were conducted during the year 1918.

The first of these campaigns extended from April 6th to May 4, 1918, resulting in the sale of \$39,920,650 of Third Liberty Loan bonds. Buffalo's quota was \$30,876,600 and the subscriptions exceeded the quota by \$9,044,050, being an excess of 29%.

The second of these campaigns extended from September 30th to October 21, 1918, inclusive, resulting in the sale of \$66,583,700 of the Fourth Liberty Loan bonds. Buffalo's quota was \$61,648,400 and the subscriptions exceeded the quota by \$4,935,300, being an excess of 8%.

Both of these Liberty Loan Campaigns were under the direction of the Buffalo Liberty Loan Organization, of which Walter P. Cooke, Esq., was chairman, comprising fifty or more representative citizens of Buffalo. Numerous committees were formed, comprising all trades and professions of the city, and every house was canvassed; resulting, in the Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign, in 196,708 subscriptions, averaging \$338.49 for each. There were 120,988 subscribers of \$50 each and 55,316 of \$100 each. Such subscriptions were made apparently by 40% of the population of Buffalo, thus showing the general interest in loaning funds to the Government to prosecute its war activities.

Mrs. Edward H. Butler of Buffalo was the treasurer of the Buffalo Liberty Loan Organization, which was designated by the Federal Reserve Bank of the Second Federal Reserve District.

THRIFT AND WAR SAVINGS STAMPS.

Under the National War Savings Committee for New York State, with Hon. William J. Tully as State Director, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasurer, of which Mr. E. M. Husted was the first Director for Erie County, until about March 1st, 1918, and thereafter of which Edward H. Butler, Esq., was Director for Erie County, a campaign was conducted for the sale of Thrift and War Savings Stamps during the entire year 1918. Mr. Ralph S. Kent and Paul H. Husted were assistant directors. Mr. Roberts W. Elmes was executive secretary, Mrs. Howard A. Forman was chairman of the Women's Com-

mittee with Mrs. John M. Satterfield as vice-chairman. Orson E. Yager was chairman of the Thrift parade on February 4th, in which city officials and many organizations participated.

During the year there were several special drives for the sale of such stamps, the principal one being the last week in June, called the Pledge Week Drive, when the citizens of Buffalo were solicited to pledge to take a certain number during the year.

In November there was the Pershing Tribute Drive, as a special Thanksgiving offering.

During the year such stamps were sold by the police, the firemen, schools, Boy Scouts, fraternal societies and many regular established agencies.

The 150 schools in Buffalo, public, private and parochial, disposed of such stamps amounting to \$901,473.86; the Boy Scouts disposed of such stamps amounting to \$225,188.50; the Fire Department disposed of such stamps amounting to \$750,261.02; and the Police Department disposed of such stamps amounting to \$724,816.75.

The aggregate sales of Thrift and War Savings Stamps in Buffalo in 1918 was \$7,597,313. This also evidenced the popular interest in the matter.

THE SECOND WAR FUND CAMPAIGN OF THE RED CROSS.

This campaign was conducted by a committee, named on May 12, 1918, of which Robert W. Pomeroy, Esq., was chairman. In anticipation of it, on May 18th, occurred the Red Cross pageant with many thousands in the parade, including Civil War and Spanish War veterans, Boy Scouts and women's organizations. The principal drive to raise Buffalo's quota of \$1,500,000 extended from May 20th to May 27, 1918. The school children raised \$54,000 of that quota. The entire amount raised in Buffalo was \$2,401,337 and in the country was \$144,000,000. It was to

be expended under the supervision of the Red Cross for war relief purposes.

In addition to the funds so raised in this city, the Buffalo Chapter of the Red Cross kept many households engaged in knitting and sewing, others in preparing clothing and hospital supplies for military and other Red Cross overseas uses. The women of Buffalo in this and in other war relief services filling positions vacated by the withdrawal of men for military purposes were engaged as they have been at no other time since the Civil War.

THE UNITED WAR-WORK FUND.

The committee having the campaign of the United War Work Fund in charge was presided over by Hon. William A. Rogers, its chairman, and comprised two hundred or more prominent Buffalonians. There were seventy teams and two thousand workers. The campaign continued from November 11th to November 18, 1918. Among the speakers were Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis of Brooklyn, Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, president of the Armour Institute of Technology, of Chicago, and Dr. John R. Mott of New York.

Buffalo's quota of the fund to be raised was \$1,800,000. There was raised during the one week's campaign the sum of \$1,970,000, which was \$170,000 in excess of the quota. The fund was to be disbursed for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers and the people in the countries devastated by war through seven national organizations, namely, the Young Men's Christian Association, the National Catholic War Relief Council, Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Board, American Library Association, War Camp Community Service and the Young Women's Christian Association. Substantial sums were also raised for Belgian, French, Serbian, Polish, Syrian and Armenian relief.

In addition to the campaigns for raising the general war funds already mentioned, were those for raising funds for local purposes, largely incidental, however, to national exigencies. For these there were many calls and large sums were raised for such purposes.

Military demands were such that all organizations subordinated their normal activities to the paramount exigencies of the war and contributed what they were able, to aid in its successful termination.

The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce from the time of its annual dinner on January 12, 1918, when the banqueters were addressed by its retiring president, Archer A. Landon; Mayor George S. Buck; Hon. Albert Johnson, representative in Congress from the State of Washington; Robert McNutt McElroy, Educational Director of the National Society League; and Judge Joseph Buffington of Pittsburgh, devoted its energies in the main in the furtherance of national war activities. It rendered most timely services to the various war loan and war fund campaign committees, and entertained commissions, delegations and speakers, who came to Buffalo in aid of any one of the campaigns during the year. It also directed the activities of the Niagara Frontier Defense League, created to guard against fires, explosions and other plottings in industrial plants engaged in the production of the munitions of war.

Other business organizations, the Labor Council, societies, schools, churches, fraternities and clubs, devoted more or less of their activities to the paramount demands of the nation in preparing for the prosecution of the great war. When the records are completed of the work performed by all such agencies in the year 1918, they will constitute an important chapter in the history of Buffalo.

The Home Defense Reserve, organized in 1917 under a committee of which General Edgar B. Jewett was chair-

man, comprised about 1500 members, mostly business men. They were armed and equipped by Erie County, under State law, and drilled weekly. They maintained their organization through the year 1918.

SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARD.

The Buffalo District Board was the third and one of nine in the State. Its jurisdiction extended over the counties of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Wyoming and Genesee. In these counties there were twenty-six Local Boards of which sixteen were in Buffalo. After its organization in August, 1917, the District Board underwent some changes. In March, 1918, it consisted of George G. Davidson, Jr., Hon. John G. Wickser, William H. Crosby, and Harlow C. Curtiss, all of Buffalo; Dr. Allen Moore of Lockport, Mr. W. W. Smallwood of Warsaw and Mr. Silas W. Williams of East Aurora. In April, 1918, Mr. Wickser resigned and was succeeded by Mr. George Houck of Buffalo. Later Mr. Houck became chairman upon the resignation of Mr. Davidson, whose vacancy on the board was filled by Mr. W. W. Reilley of Buffalo. The board had exclusive original jurisdiction over all industrial and agricultural claims and appellate jurisdiction over all other claims. From the time of its organization on August 13, 1917, until the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, out of a total registration of 230,744 in the five counties mentioned, the board entertained 36,906 claims for deferred classification or for exemption, of which 29,206 were industrial and agricultural, and of that number there were granted 20,037 and of the 7,700 appeals the board granted 2,611.

The Selective Service Act was held to be a constitutional enactment by the Supreme Court of the United States [in *Arver v. U. S.*, reported in 245 U. S., 366, and also in *Goldman v. U. S.*, reported in 245 U. S., 474]; but there

remained many questions as to classification, treaty provisions between different countries affecting the status of registrants and the extent to which courts might go in overruling the decisions of exemption boards. Some of these questions were settled in the courts and others were eliminated by amendments of the law, or by revised regulations, promulgated by the Provost Marshal General under the direction of the Secretary of War. On August 7, 1918, the distinguishing appellations "Regular," "Reserve Corps" and "National Guard" were ordered discontinued and all military forces were consolidated into the "United States Army." Many of the questions were novel and they had to be settled according to some established rules applying the country over.

In Buffalo there were sixteen local boards, which enrolled the 140,598 registrants in the city. They were engaged continuously from the time of their appointment in 1917 until the signing of the armistice and thereafter in closing their records and completing their reports. Several of the Local Boards have sent in brief reports of their official transactions, but not all. All such reports will form valuable historical records for future use when a history of Buffalo's part in the great war is to be written. Each of the sixteen local boards had an enrollment of several thousand registrants, passed on hundreds of claims and inducted into military service approximately 10% of the registrants enrolled with them respectively. All such records and the names of the members of the sixteen Local Boards, when supplied, may be preserved in our archives. All such records and a list of Buffalonians, who became members of the Army of the United States and of the Navy, of the Aviation, Medical, or Hospital corps and of any other branch of the Federal Service, as well as of those who may have served in any of the auxiliary war relief agencies, together with a record of their

participation in the great war, will constitute historical material of great value for local purposes.

Nine young women left Buffalo for service in the Navy on September 30, 1918. They were the first to volunteer for that service.

During the year 1918, both public as well as private business affairs were subordinated to the exigencies of the nation at war. War industries thrived and there were many of them.

WAR INDUSTRIES

The Pierce Arrow Motor Car Company and others furnished hundreds of war trucks and other supplies. The Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation, which built an enormous plant in the northwestern part of the city and as to which there was some criticism, and an investigation on the part of the Federal Government through former Governor and former Justice Charles E. Hughes, constructed many aeroplanes for overseas service. These two companies employed many artisans and skilled workmen and thousands of unskilled laborers in their extensive shops and factories during the war. The Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation was a new industry for Buffalo and added much to the city's industrial activity, the greatest in the year 1918 in its history, but that was largely due to the production of the munitions of war. The output and value thereof for the year cannot be now stated.

The normal activities of Buffalo's non-war industrial enterprises for the year 1918 were limited by the lack of materials and during the winter months because of the scarcity of coal; and on account of the high cost of both material and labor, Buffalo in common with many other centers suffered in its building and in its new construction work of all kinds. Under governmental regulation

of industries and public utilities, private businesses have been so hampered that many have been unable to do anything outside of war orders or work incidental thereto.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

For reasons already stated, the officials of Buffalo, working in harmony with the officials at Washington, have wisely refrained from embarking on extensive improvements or new construction, that would involve the city in large bond issues or in heavy taxes. Councilman Charles B. Hill of the Department of Finance made a survey of the city's finances, including its resources and liabilities, for the purpose of determining what and what not the Council might wisely or safely do under the 10% constitutional limitation in view of the accruing obligations which the city must meet.

On February 13, 1918, Councilman Charles B. Hill was appointed by Governor Charles S. Whitman, a member of the Public Service Commission of the Second District. He was promptly confirmed and appointed chairman of that State Commission, which has jurisdiction over the public utilities in this city. The vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Councilman Hill was filled by the election of Frederick G. Bagley, a well known lawyer and one of the staunchest supporters of Buffalo's commission form of government.

Mayor George S. Buck, who took office January 1, 1918, and Councilman Bagley were familiar with the commission form of government and readily adapted themselves to its exigencies. Mayor Buck took the Department of Public Safety, Councilman Heald was transferred to the Department of Finance and Accounts; and Councilman Bagley was assigned to the Department of Public Instruction. Commission government as administered in this city is growing in popular favor.

In January, 1918, Henry J. Girvin succeeded John Martin as Superintendent of Police.

Dr. Frances E. Fronczak, who had served as Health Commissioner for eight years, was re-appointed by Mayor Buck. Dr. Fronczak was in hospital service in France in 1917-'18.

On October 1, 1918, Bernard J. McConnell, chief of the Fire Department, after 26 years' service as such, retired. He had been in the service 48 years.

RETIREMENT OF DR. HENRY P. EMERSON.

Early in the year 1918, Dr. Henry P. Emerson tendered his resignation as City Superintendent of Education, but continued to serve as such until July, 1918. He was succeeded in September by Dr. Ernest C. Hartwell of St. Paul, Minnesota. Dr. Emerson became instructor in Latin and Greek in the Buffalo Central High School in 1874, a principal thereof in 1883 and Superintendent of Education in 1893, and held that position in this city for 25 years. Under the old charter, he was ex-officio member of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society. During his administration of the Buffalo school system the population of the city increased from 290,000 to approximately 500,000, and the public and high schools proportionately. Rarely does it fall to the lot of an educator to supervise a school system for a quarter of a century as Dr. Emerson has done here. Teachers and pupils alike will ever remember his life work in Buffalo and what he did for them and for the uplift of the city. He was generally recognized as one of the most versatile and successful educators of the period. He knew personally some one or more members of many of the families of Buffalo and he will be most sincerely missed by those who have been in close touch with his work.

During the entire winter of 1917-18 there was a short-

age of coal and the weather was unusually severe much of the time. Buffalo and its industries were seriously affected and the people suffered from the want of fuel. The National Fuel Administrator closed office buildings several Mondays in succession. The street-car service was wholly inefficient and that added to the discomfort of all classes dependent upon the cars for transportation.

The International Railway Company asserted that it could not maintain efficient service under the increased cost of labor and material and the demands of conductors and motormen at the prevailing rate of five cent fares. Later a referendum was submitted to the people, but they refused to ratify an increase to six cents, and the company maintained it could not increase the wages of its employes. Accordingly on October 3d the men struck and there was no service until October 26, 1918, the longest continuous railway strike in the history of the city. During the street railway strike, the epidemic of Spanish influenza raged in Buffalo and vicinity, prostrating scores daily and causing great mortality—one of the most fatal epidemics that ever swept the city. Schools, churches, theatres and all other places where people were accustomed to congregate, were ordered closed from October 11th to November 1, 1918. There were so many deaths in Buffalo of Spanish influenza that the death rate for 1918 was 21.2 per thousand of population as compared with 16.4 of population in 1917. Although the epidemic subsided, many cases were reported in November and December.

LAKE COMMERCE AT BUFFALO.

Lake receipts and shipments at the Port of Buffalo for the navigation season from April 23d to December 19, 1918, that being 240 days, were less than they have been in any year since 1910.

In a time of unusual railroad activity and freight congestion, the country over, lake tonnage at Buffalo was the smallest in years. The records of the United States Customs Office at Buffalo show the ex-lake receipts for the year 1918 as follows: Flour, 5,390,255 barrels; wheat, 66,472,192 bushels; corn, 243,162 bushels; oats, 14,304,971 bushels; barley, 4,437,684 bushels; rye, 7,256,702 bushels; flax, 3,151,543 bushels; aggregating, including flour received in its equivalent as wheat, 131,065,678 bushels as compared with 172,136,346 bushels received in 1917.

Other ex-lake receipts at Buffalo were the following: Bituminous coal, 131,960 tons; copper, 92,484 tons; pig iron, 23,593 tons; ore, 8,698,585 tons; limestone, 1,255,021 tons; merchandise, 171,078 tons; lumber, 42,168,195 feet; shingles, 3,515,409 thousands; feeds, 490,933 sacks; salt, 20,739 barrels; and small quantities of other articles.

The shipments from Buffalo up the lakes were the following: Coal, 3,594,803 tons; salt, 51,130 barrels; cement, 400 barrels; sugar, 85,985 barrels; railroad iron, 11,600 tons; flaxseed, 232,770 bushels; and some merchandise.

At the close of navigation there were in the Buffalo harbor 177 lake vessels, the largest fleet that ever wintered here. One hundred and seventeen of these vessels were loaded with grain for winter storage, aggregating in amount 39,000,000 bushels. There were also stored in the elevators of Buffalo about 12,000,000 bushels, thus making the total amount of grain in storage in Buffalo 51,000,000 bushels. No other port in the world ever had such a quantity of grain at any one time within its confines. Most of the grain was received late in the season. Under the Federal routing of grains to the seaboard, the normal flow through this port was checked and much of it was delivered over railways to various Atlantic and Gulf ports. In peaceful times Buffalonians would not

look with equanimity upon such diversion. It may be justified on account of war necessities.

CANAL TONNAGE.

The last barrier between the completed sections of the new Barge Canal at Rochester was removed by Hon. Frank M. Williams, State Engineer and Surveyor, on May 10, 1918, thereby making possible navigation through the improved Erie Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson river. All the barge canals were opened on May 15, 1918, and they were taken over by the Director-General of Railroads early in the year, pursuant to the proclamation of the President, made under the provisions of an Act of Congress authorizing him so to do. Nearly all the boats were commandeered and the canals were operated by representatives of the Director-General of Railroads through the year. Private or individual operation ceased and the tonnage over the canals was reduced to the smallest volume in their history.

General W. W. Wotherspoon, Superintendent of Public Works, reported on December 30, 1918, the tonnage on the canals for the season as follows: Erie Canal, 667,374 tons; Champlain Canal, 434,784 tons; Oswego Canal, 44,661 tons; Cayuga and Seneca Canal, 7,509 tons; Black River Canal, 4,932 tons; aggregating a total tonnage of 1,159,270 tons.

OCCASIONAL EVENTS.

There were many assemblages and patriotic meetings in Buffalo during the year 1918. A complete report of them would unduly prolong this paper and for that reason only a few will be mentioned.

On January 31st, the Pythians of Western New York celebrated their Golden Jubilee with a public celebration at Elmwood Music Hall, which was appropriately deco-

rated and filled to its full capacity. The exercises were of a patriotic nature. Henry W. Hill presided. The meeting was addressed by Governor Charles S. Whitman, Justice William Renwick Riddell of the Supreme Court of Toronto, and Hon. John J. Brown, the Supreme Chancellor of Knights of Pythias of Vandalia, Illinois. It was one of the largest patriotic meetings of the year.

On March 14th another large audience filled Elmwood Music Hall that was addressed by Rev. Henry A. Mooney, Lieutenant J. L. Forgie of the Canadian Highlanders, Judge Thomas H. Noonan and Ralph S. Kent, along patriotic lines.

Various other patriotic meetings were held from time to time in Elmwood Music Hall during the year, in the Broadway Auditorium, in the Hutchinson High School, in the Assembly Hall of the State Normal School, and elsewhere. These were addressed by distinguished speakers from this and other countries in behalf of Liberty Loan and other war funds.

On February 14th Brigadier General W. A. White of the British recruiting mission was entertained by and spoke at the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, spoke in Buffalo on two occasions, the first time on April 9th in behalf of the third Liberty Loan, and the last time at the united Thanksgiving meeting in Elmwood Music Hall on November 28, 1918.

On June 3, 1918, a troop of the famous French Chasseurs on their return from the battle front in the near East via the Pacific, visited Buffalo and were escorted about the city. They did heroic work in some of the engagements of the great war.

On June 11th Bishop Dennis J. Dougherty received the announcement of his appointment as Archbishop of Philadelphia. Thereafter several receptions were tendered in

his honor by several organizations of the diocese. He delivered his farewell address at the new cathedral on Sunday evening, July 7, 1918, to the clergy and the people of the diocese. During his bishopric in Buffalo he formed many warm friends and his early departure was generally deplored.

On July 29th the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce gave a farewell luncheon to Bishop Thomas J. Walsh, who was about to leave Buffalo for Trenton, New Jersey. On the evening of that day Hon. Frank B. Baird, at his beautiful home on Delaware Avenue, gave a dinner in honor of Bishop Walsh, which was attended by 171 invited guests, comprising many of Buffalo's prominent citizens. The Bishop had been active in all Liberty Loan and war relief fund campaigns and formed many warm personal friends in those and other activities. He was consecrated Bishop of Trenton, N. J., on July 25th, at the new St. Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo.

The frequent departure of groups of men for various military camps and other military activities filled the weeks with thrilling incidents, which made the year a memorable one in the annals of Buffalo, as it was the world over. This Society is equipped to do much in the collection and preservation of all such matters of local historical interest.

During the coming year it may be able to obtain official information of the positions, ranks and offices attained and held by Buffalonians in all branches of Federal service and in the army of the United States. Many of Buffalo's young men have acquired for themselves military and other commissions, indicating their promotion in service. It is not possible now to enumerate all with their respective ranks.

SOME PROMINENT BUFFALONIANS WHO DIED IN 1918.

In the Secretary's report will appear the names of members of the Society who died during the year 1918. Brief mention may be made of some of them as well as of some other Buffalonians who died during the year and who have been officially or otherwise more or less prominent in some of this city's manifold activities. In enumerating the following, it will be understood that there may be others, whose services to Buffalo were also worthy of record. The list of those who in the great war made the supreme sacrifice for their country and to preserve free institutions from obliteration under the iron rule of a military despotism that threatened individual liberties and popular government itself, will be a long and an honorable one, worthy of perpetuation in the hearts of all Americans. Such list will be made later as official reports are completed. This Society will do what it may to perpetuate all such records.

On January 9th Charles L. Hard passed away. He was a manufacturer and favorably known to many Buffalonians. He was a member of this Society.

Clarence Munson Bushnell, also a member of this Society, passed away on February 1st. He was prominent in the Cleveland Democracy and at the bar. For years he was a member of the law firm who were attorneys for the International Railway Company.

Porter Norton died on February 2d, fifteen hours after the death of Clarence M. Bushnell, with whom for several years he was associated in the practice of the law. He was widely and favorably known to the bench and bar and for forty years was the attorney for the company owning the street railway system. He possessed a genial nature, and his ready wit was proverbial. He was a member of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Dr. Henry F. Fullerton died on February 13th, at the age of 84 years. He was graduated from the University of Buffalo in 1875, but never practiced. He was principal of School No. 16 for 48 years. He was a life member of this Society.

Michael J. Healy, chairman of the Local Board No. 3, died on February 14th. He was supervisor of the Second Ward for four terms from 1903 onward and alderman of that ward from 1911-1915.

Buffalo's poet, James Nicol Johnston, died on February 14th at the age of 86 years. He had lived in Buffalo nearly seventy years. He was born in Donegal, Ireland. He was the author of "Donegal Memories" and compiled a volume of Buffalo verse. He was a member of this Society and his bust stands in the main hall of the Historical Society Building.

George K. Birge, after a brief illness, died on February 17th. He had been engaged in active war-fund campaign work. He was president of M. H. Birge & Sons Wall Paper Company. He had been a director of the Pan-American Exposition Company. He organized and was president of the Pierce Arrow Motor Car Company until 1916, to whose development he devoted his greatest energies. The success of that company, to some extent, was due to his efforts. He was a student of art and a trustee of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and also a vice-president of the Arts Club of New York. He was a member of this Society and was interested in local history.

Dr. Conrad Diehl, aged 75 years, died on February 20th. He was graduated at the University of Buffalo and studied also at Berlin. In 1865 he was coroner of Erie County and prominent in the National Guard from 1870 to 1878. He was Mayor of Buffalo from 1897 to 1901, and thereafter he devoted his entire time to the practice of medicine.

George H. Lamy died on February 23d. He was under-Sheriff of Erie County for several terms and was also a Sheriff of Erie County. He was prominent in Masonic organizations and generally admired by all who knew him.

Edward B. D. Riley, a member of this Society, passed away on February 25th. He was a son of Gen. Bennett Riley, U. S. A., formerly stationed in Buffalo, who gallantly served his country during the Mexican War.

Major Willis R. Buck, for many years a member of the 74th Regiment, and a clerk of the Iroquois Hotel for 29 years, died on March 15th.

John W. Fisher died on March 31st. For several years he was prominent in Erie County politics. For four years he was attorney for the Board of Supervisors of Erie County.

William J. Donaldson died on April 1st. He was active in civic movements and especially in those affecting Black Rock and that section of the city. He was well and favorably known in Masonic circles.

Rev. Andrew V. V. Raymond, a member of this Society, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, died on April 5th, near Spartanburg, South Carolina, where he had gone to visit his son, Lieutenant Andrew V. V. Raymond, Jr. Dr. Raymond was president of Union College from 1894-1907. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church from 1907 to April 5, 1918. His discourses were scholarly, and his sympathies broad and genuine. He enjoyed the fellowship of refined and cultured associates. His personality was charming and refreshing. He was one of the best known and most revered clergymen in this city and took a deep interest in all charitable and humanitarian activities.

George W. Ferris died on April 10th, at the age of 72 years. For many years he was an editorial writer on the *Courier*.

George Bleistein died April 21st. He was for a time president of the Courier Company, a trustee of the City and County Hall, and a Collector of Customs at the port of Buffalo at the time of his death. He was also a life member of this Society.

Major John M. Farquhar passed away on April 24th. By profession he was editor and publisher. During the Civil War he was judge advocate in the 4th Army Corps. He was a Representative in Congress from 1885-1891.

Judge Robert C. Titus died on April 27th. Born October 24, 1839, he was educated at Oberlin College, and was District Attorney of Erie County from 1878-1880. He was elected to the State Senate in 1881, and again in 1883, and served two terms, when he was elected Judge of the Superior Court of Buffalo. That position he held until the court was merged into the Supreme Court in 1896, whereupon he became Judge of the Supreme Court and served out the balance of his term. In 1913 he was appointed Commissioner of Jurors in Erie County, and held that position until his death. He was a prominent Mason and had received the 33d degree. He was for many years a member of this Society.

On May 12, 1918, Dr. Thomas B. Berry, for 21 years rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd and thereafter the warden of the DeLancey Divinity School at Geneva, N. Y., for nine years, died. His funeral at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Buffalo was attended by many clergymen of Western New York.

On May 18th Francis X. Egloff, a well known Civil War veteran and active in the Grand Army of the Republic, died, nearly 64 years of age.

On May 30th, Charles H. Utley died at the Lenox after a long illness. He was born here September 1, 1847, and was a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic School. He dealt in pianos and other musical instruments. He was

a military aid on the staff of Grover Cleveland when he was Governor. He was vestryman of Trinity Church for 25 years, and one of the organizers of the Humane Society. He was a member of this Society.

On June 28th William H. Ellis, secretary-treasurer of J. D. Warren Sons Company, died at his home on Richmond Avenue after an illness of three weeks. He was born in Buffalo July 10, 1857, his father, Henry W. Ellis, being a widely known lake captain. He entered the employ of the *Commercial* at the age of 16. He was prominent in Masonic circles and a member of this Society.

On June 30th William German, former member of the City Council, passed away. He was elected to the Council in 1903, and served four years. In January, 1912, he was again elected to fill the unexpired term of John J. Mahoney.

On July 16th Dr. Richard Rathbun, acting director of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, passed away. He was 66 years old, and a native of Buffalo. He was an author of many standard works.

Miss Mary M. Hawley died on July 26th. For some time she was custodian of the Lord Library and associated with the library work of this Society.

On July 27th Dr. Daniel Upton, principal of the Buffalo Normal School, passed away suddenly. He was a graduate of Cornell, the first principal of the Buffalo Technical High School, and became principal of the State Normal School at Buffalo in 1909. He was of pleasing personality and was an educator of wide reputation and high ideals. His conception of the functions of a Normal School was wrought out in the range of instruction provided in the various departments of the Normal School in this city.

Dr. George E. Fell died in Chicago the latter part of

July. He lived in Buffalo most of his life, and was the inventor of the original pulmotor.

George W. Lockwood died July 31st, aged 88 years.

On August 14th George Feldman, one of the prominent figures of old Buffalo, passed away. He was prominent during the campaign of 1876, during the political activity of Senator Roscoe Conklin, James G. Blaine and President Hayes. He was Judge of the Buffalo Police Court for two years.

George Szag, prominent violinist and director of the Szag School of Music, died September 3d, aged 54 years.

On September 17th Samuel Root, founder and president of Root, Neal & Company, died. He was in business here for 30 years and prominent in insurance circles.

On November 3d Miss Anna Olive Lee, a member of this Society, passed away. She was long devoted to welfare work in this city.

On November 30th William H. Hotchkiss, former partner of the late J. N. Adam, died. He was one of the best and most favorably known business men of Buffalo, where he had resided since 1882. He was interested in many activities and philanthropies in this city. He was a life member of this Society.

On December 27th passed away Carl K. Friedman, one of the editorial writers of the Buffalo *Express* for 21 years. He was also a writer for the Buffalo *Courier* for some years prior to associating himself with the Buffalo *Express*.

On December 29th Eli D. Hofeller, a member of this Society, passed away. Mr. Hofeller was a contractor and operated several pavement companies. He organized Jewish relief work in Buffalo and established the Hofeller Foundation as a summer home for children on the lake shore near Derby, N. Y.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The activities of the Society have not been lessened during the year. All the meetings have been well attended and the lectures have been unusually interesting and edifying.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer will disclose many of the activities of this Society and its general status, as well as the work performed, gifts received and its general condition.

I take this occasion to express to my colleagues of the Board of Managers my appreciation of their hearty cooperation in the administration of the affairs of the Buffalo Historical Society during the past year, when innumerable demands have been made upon them, and the business affairs of the city requiring their attention have been subordinated to the exigencies of this nation at war. They have been attentive to the duties devolving upon them and have given the Society the benefit of their best thought and experience. One of their number, Captain Evan Hollister, during the year has been in the United States Army.

At present the officers and members of the Board of Managers, exclusive of the city officials, are the following: Andrew Langdon, Honorary President; Henry W. Hill, President; Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President; Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer; Albert H. Briggs, M. D., Lee H. Smith, M. D., John G. Wickser, William A. Galpin, Howard H. Baker, Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett Rich, Henry W. Sprague, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, Loran Briggs, M. D., Lee H. Smith, M. D., Hon. John G. Wickser, L. Lewis, Jr., George A. Stringer, Captain Evan Hollister, Edward S. Hawley and Carlton R. Perrine.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

During the year 1918 this Society has carried forward its various activities much as in former years, although war conditions have led to certain new lines of work, and have made it perhaps more difficult to secure new members.

The building has been maintained in good condition with far less outlay than in many former years. Necessary furnace-room and roof repairs were made under the supervision of the engineer.

Membership. During the year we lost by death 15 members. Nineteen new members were added to the list.

The names of those who have died are:

DEATHS FROM MEMBERSHIP, 1918.

Jan. 9.	Charles L. Hard.....	Resident	Member
Feb. 1.	Clarence M. Bushnell.....	"	"
Feb. 2.	Porter Norton.....	"	"
Feb. 13.	Henry Franklin Fullerton.....	Life	"
Feb. 14.	James N. Johnston.....	Resident	"
Feb. 17.	George K. Birge.....	"	"
Feb. 28.	Edward B. D. Riley.....	"	"
Apr. 5.	Rev. Andrew V. V. Raymond.....	"	"
Apr. 21.	George Bleistein.....	Life	"
May 30.	Charles H. Utley.....	Resident	"
June 27.	William H. Ellis.....	"	"
July 26.	Miss Mary M. Hawley.....	Life	"
Nov. 3.	Miss Anna Olive Lee.....	Resident	"
Nov. 30.	William H. Hotchkiss.....	Life	"
Dec. 29.	Eli D. Hofeller.....	Resident	"

LIBRARY.

The annual State appropriation of \$100, which for some years has been applied to book-buying and binding, having been discontinued, we have correspondingly curtailed the library expenditures. Most of the purchases have been on lines which are thought essential for our collec-

tion. An especial effort is made to preserve here books by Buffalo authors, and books printed in Buffalo. Everything of value pertaining to the regional history is secured if possible.

The total number of accessions, by gift, exchange and purchase, during the year, was 1043, making the total number of catalogued books in the Society library, December 31, 1918, 26,912.

The Lord library remains unchanged from year to year. It contains 10,260 volumes.

A year ago I dwelt on the crowded condition of our library. Except for some temporary makeshifts, nothing has been done to relieve the congestion. Figures were had for the installation of metal stacks, but they were so large that the matter was tabled.

New stacks have been built in the newspaper and public document room, and are already in large measure filled.

In every department of our collections—reference library, newspaper and public documents room, and museum, we need more room.

GIFTS.

It has been a year of many and notable gifts, to both library and museum. Donors of books were Miss N. J. Bame, Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, John Brauer, the Bureau of Railway Economics, Miss Ellen M. Chandler, Hon. Wm. A. Cheney of Los Angeles, the J. W. Clement Co., John W. Crafts, Lieut. Simon Cullen of the Buffalo Police Department, the Curtis Publishing Co., Philadelphia, J. H. Davie, Erie, Pa., Gen. Francis V. Greene, Ernest G. Hatch, Wm. H. Johnson, Henry Adams Kimball, Concord, N. H., Herman T. Koerner, John I. Laney, Mrs. Charles F. Mensch, Geo. N. Newman, Henry Harmon Noble, Essex, N. Y., Charles J. North, Mrs. Roberta Parke, Arthur C. Parker, Albany, Miss Anna M. Paul, Geo.

Haven Putnam, New York City, Walter Allen Rice, Miss J. Bessie Robbins, Miss Isabella M. Shaw, Frank H. Severance, Chas. W. Sickmon, Dilworth M. Silver, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Mrs. James Tillinghast, Mrs. William D. Walker.

Meriting special mention are the "Histories of Noble English Families," two volumes, folio, London, 1846; and the "History of the Orders of Knighthood," four volumes, 4to, London, 1842, and others, costly and beautiful books formerly owned by Mr. James Tillinghast, once president of this Society. These books were presented by Mrs. Tillinghast. To the Francis V. Greene collection, chiefly of books relating to American wars, General Greene has added during the year 578 volumes.

Our newspaper collection has been enriched by the gift, from Mr. Frank Held, of bound files of Buffalo's first German newspaper, *Der Weltbürger*; also of *Der Freimüthige*, and of the *Buffalo Demokrat*.

Perhaps the most conspicuous single article added to the museum is the carriage formerly owned and used by Millard Fillmore. After his death in 1874 it became the property of the Hon. Loran L. Lewis, whose daughter, Mrs. Louise Lewis Kahle, has given it to the Society. It has the double association of ownership and use by two distinguished citizens of Buffalo, both in their time members of this Society, one of whom was its first president, and thirteenth President of the United States. Of President Fillmore we possess many interesting souvenirs. His old mahogany-veneered desk has been used for 17 years by your secretary. Of Buffalo's other President, Grover Cleveland, we have but few souvenirs, among them the desk he used when sheriff of Erie County.

Much of beauty and interest was added to our museum through the gift of Mrs. William D. Walker of articles belonging to or associated with the work of her late hus-

band, Bishop William D. Walker of the Diocese of Western New York. It includes the robes, hoods and caps worn on the occasion of the bestowal of scholastic degrees by Oxford and other universities; the pectoral cross, signet rings and other articles associated with his episcopal office; souvenirs of his missionary diocese in North Dakota; and numerous other articles—notably a much-prized portrait of Bishop Walker—all tastefully arranged in a specially-constructed case, provided for the collection jointly by Mrs. Walker and this Society. The presentation of this memorial was the occasion of a meeting of much interest, on the afternoon of May 18, 1918. A detailed account of the exercises on that occasion will appear with this report, in the Publications of the Society.

Of the multitude of articles which have come to us during the year, only a few are here mentioned. Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett has presented numerous souvenirs of the Civil War, pictures and historical documents. From Mrs. George Bleistein we have a marvel of a Mexican hat, heavy with gold and silver, acquired by the late Mr. Bleistein from a member of Buffalo Bill's Wild West company. A model of the ship *Buffalo*, made in 1856 by Richard Caudell, is a gift from his son, Mr. William M. Caudell, who also gives us a model of a Lehigh Valley bridge over Seneca street, made by himself. Mr. William A. Galpin has made numerous fine additions to his collections of antiques and of historical engravings.

Our collection of war posters has been augmented by a number of Canadian Victory Loan posters, the gift of Mr. J. A. Mitchell, of the Public Archives of Canada. These are now on exhibition.

A great variety of articles have been added to the museum, all by gift except a few Indian articles, and two or three bronze medals commemorating American historical events.

For the better display of some of our possessions, new cases are greatly needed.

RED CROSS WORK.

In September the Society placed two rooms in the building at the service of Red Cross workers in the nearby Nye Park and adjoining neighborhood. One of these is the Board Room, used by the managers for their monthly meetings; and on entertainment evenings, as a cloak-room for ladies. The board of managers has found it no great hardship to transfer its meetings either to the Secretary's office, or to the down-town office of President Hill; thus giving to the Red Cross workers a well-lighted, fairly ample room. It was accepted with warm expressions of appreciation; and here, until the armistice of November 11th, the preparation of hospital supplies went actively forward. Since that date the character of the work has changed, but the accommodation will, it is understood, be needed by the Red Cross for some months—perhaps many months to come. Speaking for the officers of the Society, it may be added here that it has been a pleasure to do even this slight bit for the cause.

WAR EXHIBITS.

During the Liberty Loan drives special exhibitions of posters were arranged; and early in the year the flags of the principal allied nations were procured and hung in the court, which they continue to render more attractive than before. A collection of more than 100 large photographs, showing scenes from the seat of war, were procured from the New York pictorial agency of the French Government, and are a valuable permanent addition to our museum.

WAR DATA.

During the past few months much time has been given

to the compilation of data relating to Buffalo's part in the Great War. Card lists are kept giving name, residence, kind of service and other essential data of Buffalo men killed in action, died of wounds or disease, either overseas or in American training camps, of those wounded severely or slightly, or gassed; of those missing in action, or in German prison camps. Special records of men from Buffalo engaged in aviation service have been compiled; also, records of Buffalo men and women who have shared in Red Cross or Y. M. C. A. canteen work, here or abroad; with a mass of miscellaneous data not necessary to specify further here. It has been the Secretary's plan ultimately to edit and publish this material in a volume which might appropriately be entitled, "Buffalo's Part in the Great War." It having been announced, however, that the Municipality of Buffalo would publish a volume covering practically the same field, and your Secretary having been named one of a committee to carry out that work, no further steps towards separate publication on this subject will be taken until the character and scope of the city's proposed book are known. In the meantime the collection, arrangement and permanent preservation of material will continue.

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXII of the Publications of the Society was issued in the spring. It contained a group of papers relating to educational work in Buffalo, notably a comprehensive "History of the University of Buffalo," by Mr. Julian Park, Acting Dean, College of Arts and Sciences of the university. Another noteworthy feature of the volume is the "Historical Sketch of Niagara Ship Canal Projects," by Hon. Henry W. Hill. The volume has been favorably received and ranks as a not unworthy continuation of the lengthening series of our Publications, in

which our aim is to include authentic studies and original documents bearing on every important phase of our regional history.

For some months the Secretary worked, in co-operation with Prof. J. D. Ibbotson, librarian of Hamilton College, in collecting and editing the journals and letters of Samuel Kirkland, whose early visits to our region, and work as missionary and Government interpreter among the Indian tribes of this State, make it desirable to preserve his writings in suitable form. He was the founder of Hamilton College, and that institution has a lively interest in the proposed publication. Some of Mr. Kirkland's unpublished manuscripts are owned by the college. Others, including valuable journals of his early visits to Buffalo Creek and the Niagara region, have long been held by this Society. As the project developed, the interest of Hon. Elihu Root, an alumnus and trustee of Hamilton, was enlisted; and it was determined upon that a comprehensive collection of Mr. Kirkland's writings should be prepared and published co-operatively by Hamilton College and the Buffalo Historical Society. When the United States became a participant in the European war, the routine at Hamilton, as at most American colleges, was upset, Mr. Ibbotson was drawn into war work—and, in brief, it was necessary to lay aside the Kirkland project until a more favorable time.

Devoted to other matter of importance, volume XXIII of our Publications,—notwithstanding the truly painful increase in cost of paper, printing and binding, will in due time be placed in the hands of our members.

It should, perhaps, be added that the Secretary is making such headway as other duties will permit with a study of documents bearing on events in this region in the years immediately following the end of the French regime. The narrative will be a continuation of the story

ment of the University of Buffalo. Addresses have also been given for the State Normal School, the Chamber of Commerce, West Side Business Men's Association, Westminster Club, Saturn Club, Credit Men's Association, and numerous church and other organizations.

Chiefly because of war conditions, fewer conventions and annual meetings than usual have been held of organizations in which the Society holds membership and is usually represented by the Secretary. The Historical Society of the Canadian Province of Ontario reduced its annual meeting to the transaction of necessary business, omitting all historical and literary features. The New York State Historical Association, which was to have met in Rochester, cancelled the meeting. The American Historical Association, in which we have been actively represented for years, was to have convened in 1918 in Minneapolis. Late in the year the meeting-place was changed to Cleveland; and finally the meeting was abandoned altogether, because of the prevalence of influenza in that city.

In May your Secretary attended the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, at Springfield, Mass. One of our managers, Mr. Henry R. Howland, has for two years been president of this flourishing organization. Its scope embraces all museums—whether of science, art or history. The two former subjects have engrossed most of the attention of the annual meetings; the special museum problems of historical institutions have received but little attention—practically none at the Springfield meeting.

For one year your Secretary has acted as editor of the historical department of the monthly periodical published by the Association; but preferring to confine his work to the Buffalo Society, he resigned his editorial duties for the Museums Association.

The activities of the Society tend to increase. The work grows. Our library is not at present as much used by the public as we could wish, but we keep on steadily improving its character along definite lines. In days to come many will thank us—or invoke blessings on our memory—for building up here a collection of printed and manuscript material relating to this field, which has no counterpart in other perhaps more popular repositories, but which is essential for historical study. We especially desire to make our institution helpful to the schools of Buffalo, public, private or parochial.

This report would be incomplete without a word of acknowledgment of the faithful and efficient services of our librarian, Mrs. Anna A. Andrews, and of the assistant secretary, Miss Helen F. Moffat. To their ability, devotion to the interests of the Society, and unfailing helpfulness, it is a pleasure to testify.

With many tasks ready, we go forward into the new year under the same old motto: "We are here to help."

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,

Secretary.

On January 9th the officers of the preceding year were re-elected for the ensuing year.

FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 6, 1920

The fifty-eighth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 6, 1920. President Henry W. Hill presided, and read his annual address. Frank H. Severance made the annual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer; and Messrs. Albert H. Briggs, M. D., William A. Galpin, Edward S. Hawley, Lee H. Smith, M. D., and John G. Wickser were re-elected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years.

The annual address of the President, and the report of the Secretary, here follow.

PRESIDENT HILL'S ADDRESS.

*Officers and members of the Buffalo Historical Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The Buffalo Historical Society has completed another year of its activities and its officers are now to render their reports of its proceedings. Its managers have held regular monthly meetings, except during July and August, and passed on all administrative and other matters as they arose, and a full record thereof is made by the Secretary and that is preserved. Such parts of that record as show in a general way our membership, finances, gifts of historical material and general status of the Society will be presented by the Secretary. For several years our accounts have been audited by a certified public accountant and found to be correct. Such certification is also a matter of record. Most of the expense of this Society is

quite invariable, except for occasional repairs and other minor matters and therefore is readily ascertainable. During recent years, the City of Buffalo, through its chief fiscal officer, has been apprised annually of the expenses of maintenance and for heat and light and no suggestions have come from that source.

The Common Council as well as the tax-payers of Buffalo generally recognize, that this is one of the educational institutions of the city and that it is being economically managed. The Board of Managers are well-known business men, who freely give their advice and services to the administration of its affairs. It has been so from its organization in 1862. The men, who have so served the Society and latterly the city as well since the Buffalo Historical Society is now a publicly supported institution, are entitled to the gratitude of Buffalonians. The list of such is a large one and comprises some of Buffalo's most prominent citizens, extending from Millard Fillmore, its first President, to the late Andrew Langdon, of whom I shall speak later. The contributions they made to the upbuilding of this Society and their efforts to preserve the materials upon which local history is founded, and family records are maintained, were of priceless value to the people of this city. That work is still going on, and records are still being made of the activities of Buffalonians and of the occurrences in this city, that will increase in value as time passes. This Society was founded by President Fillmore and others to collate, preserve and perpetuate local history. He and his associates fully understood the importance of such service.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

I was more than ever impressed with the inestimable value of an historical collection on inspecting the Domin-

ion Governmental archives at Ottawa last August, where may be found papers, documents and much of the material, constituting the background of Canadian family, colonial and national history, and much that forms a part of the history of the Niagara Frontier and of the Province of New York. This collection is unique in that it includes, besides its great accumulation of original manuscripts, a most useful collection of copies of historical documents, military and civil reports, etc., the originals of which are in European depositories. It well illustrates the importance of collecting and preserving official papers, documents and material, which have historical value. The systematic classification of all such historical material renders it available for ready reference. Some such systematic collection and classification might well be adopted at Washington, where official documents and historical papers are strewn through Governmental departments with too little attention being given to their preservation. In every capitol city and in every large municipality there is urgent need of such institutions as the Buffalo Historical Society, whose activities include the discovery, collation, classification and preservation of historical data of special interest to this locality.

In the recent case of *Matter of Hamlin*, reported in 226 New York, 407, a Buffalo case, the Court of Appeals announced at page 414 that "as bearing upon the intention of the Legislature of this State in the enactment of a statute we may consider such historical or other facts as are reasonably within the scope of judicial cognizance." The Court then proceeded to consider at some length the records of Congress in the perfection and enactment of the Federal Estate Tax Law imposed by the United States upon property in its devolution from one generation to another.

In the recent case of *Wilson v. New*, reported in 243 U.

S. Reports, pages 332-389, construing the Act of Congress regulating the hours of work and rate of wages of railroad employees engaged in interstate commerce, Chief Justice White reviewed at length the history of the controversy that led up to the enactment of the Act of Congress under consideration; and in substance the Court took into consideration the history of the dispute, the inquiries and circumstances which culminated in the legislation, the nature of the provisions made and comparison of them with the issues, which existed between the disputants, to refute the claim that the act was passed without consideration. These and other cases illustrate the uses of historical records in the disposition of important cases, involving property rights and constitutional liberties.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY SERVICE.

Much more so, do legislative bodies rely upon historical records in formulating important legislation. All Departments of Government are equally reliant. Several states are enjoying the advantages of historical organizations, most of which, however, are dependent upon voluntary contributions for their maintenance. That is the condition of the New York State Historical Association, which is doing genuine historical work in this State. The Buffalo Historical Society is fortunate in being a municipally-maintained institution so that it may prosecute its researches and collate, classify and preserve the essentials of local history, at a time when its people, in common with the people of other localities and countries are and have been actively engaged in making history. Such history is local, state and national as well as international and world-wide, and thus farther reaching than the history of any other war, of which there is record.

THE WORLD WAR.

The campaigns of Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon affected only limited areas, while that undertaken by Frederick Wilhelm Victor Albert, born at Berlin on January 27th, 1859, known as William II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, was designed to bring all the European nations into subjection to his will and also to impose his military despotism upon all other nations. In this enlightened age by free peoples such

"Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself"

is interpreted as evidence of paranoia.

The people of that empire were obsessed with the delusion that they were commissioned to dominate other races, and went forth to overthrow free institutions wherever they were.

Belgium was laid waste. Northeastern France was despoiled. Italy was entered from the north, and the British and other cities were stormed by German aeroplanes; and ships of the allied nations, and of this country were attacked by submarines.

The United States finally declared war against the Imperial German Government on April 7th, 1917, and from that date until November 11, 1918, when the armistice was signed, a year, seven months and four days, this nation was at war with that Empire. From its peaceful pursuits it was plunged into the most destructive war of the ages. Its man-power was drawn upon to the extent of three to five millions, though less than four millions were transported over seas to engage in military service. A million or more were in training in the United States, or engaged in the auxiliary branches of the service of the United States. At home many were engaged in civil pursuits in aid of governmental activities. So

normal conditions were quite generally disturbed the country over.

BUFFALO'S SHARE IN THE WAR.

Buffalo shared in such disturbed conditions as well as contributed its full quota of man-power to the American Expeditionary Forces over seas and to the auxiliary branches of the service. Its regiments participated in many of the fierce engagements in the sectors where they were stationed. The official record when published, of all such engagements, including the names of Buffalo organizations, officers and men, who participated therein and also including the long honor roll of those who made the supreme sacrifice of life itself, that free institutions might endure, will constitute a large part of the history of this city during the war period and will show how loyally Buffalo responded to the nation's call to do its full part in the crisis that threatened our liberties. The City Clerk, Mr. Daniel J. Sweeney, with the aid of others is preparing a complete roll of all men, who went from Buffalo during the European war into the military and naval service of the United States and the extent of their services. The honor roll of those, who went from Buffalo and made the supreme sacrifice of life itself, as far as then known, was published in the *Buffalo Express* on April 21st, 1919; 275 were reported as killed in action, and 637 altogether lost their lives. The official reports, when completed, may contain the names of others from this city, who laid down their young lives in behalf of home, country and constitutional liberty. Memorial services were held at Elmwood Music Hall on April 20th, at which Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and Chaplain Rev. John C. Ward of the 108th Infantry, paid tribute to their memories. The names of all such heroes will be obtained and preserved in grateful memory, for

no greater service has ever been rendered the cause of human freedom than that by those, who checked, held and finally routed the veteran forces of the Central Powers, whose battle lines extended at times from Nieuport on the northwest extending near Paris on the south and then easterly to a point near Belfort on the southeast. The American Expeditionary Forces took over one or more sectors, as the Haute Marne and St. Mihiel sectors. Their heroism at Belleau Wood, at Chateau Thierry, in the Argonne Forest and elsewhere has given them a name worthy the high emprise they heroically championed. Such valorous achievements rivalled those of Americans on other historic battle-fields.

THE RETURN OF OUR MEN.

The return of troops from Europe began early in 1919. Colonel John D. Howland of the 106th artillery, formerly the Third Field Artillery of Buffalo, returned on January 11th, 1919. Later and on January 26th, Col. Howland was the guest of honor at a dinner given by his former comrades of the 65th Regiment of the New York National Guard. The 106th Regiment was in the St. Mihiel drive. In the final offensive on Côte Romagne and on Côte Miramont, it changed position five times and finally held its ground. Many Buffalo soldiers were cited for bravery and won high honors, a record of all of which may be made later.

Buffalo had a Soldiers' Welcoming Committee consisting of Colonel Newton E. Turgeon, chairman, William R. Reilley, Rev. S. V. V. Holmes, Henry J. Rahl, Col. Elias Haffa, Dr. A. W. Hengerer, Mayor and Councilmen of Buffalo, twelve members of the Board of Supervisors, City Clerk David J. Sweeney, Dr. C. Frank Brusco, William T. Conway, a chorus of 300 male voices and others. On February 5th, 1919, an official welcome was extended

to the 102d Trench Mortar Battery, comprising members of Troop I, which left Buffalo in August, 1917, and experienced hard fighting along the Meuse; to the 108th Regiment, that being the old 74th Regiment, which arrived in New York on March 6th; to the 350 Buffalonians in the 302d Regiment of Engineers forming a unit in the 77th Division, which reached New York on April 24th, 1919; and to the 308th Trench Mortar Battery.

On March 6th, the 108th Infantry, formerly the 74th Regiment of Buffalo, under the command of Colonel Edgar S. Jennings, arrived in New York on the *Mauritania*.

On March 13th, the 106th Regiment, Field Artillery, formerly the Third Artillery, arrived in New York. Major Bradley Goodyear, Capt. Chauncey J. Hamlin, Capt. Patrick J. Keeler, Major Walter J. Schoellkopf, Major Hinds, Capt. John Grabau and others were welcomed by the reception committee, which went from Buffalo to greet them. That regiment was called to the colors and transferred to the United States service on August 4th, 1917.

The 106th Field Artillery and the 108th Infantry Regiment comprising principally Buffalonians received a warm welcome on their return to Buffalo on April 1st, when thousands turned out to greet them. They and the 107th formed a part of the 27th Division under Major-General John F. O'Ryan and bore the brunt of the attack on the Hindenburg line. The 107th Regiment "went over the top" on September 27th, 1918. The fighting was terrific and the regiment was forced back three times and on the following morning the three regiments with support from Australian, Canadian and Scottish regiments joined in the assault and drove the Germans from their intrenchments.

On April 30th, 27 members of the 308th Trench Mortar Battery, most of them veterans of the old Troop I and of the 102d Trench Mortar Battery, returned to Buffalo and

were officially welcomed. Other troops continued to return during the year. Colonel William J. Donovan of the 165th Regiment, formerly the 69th Regiment of New York, returned to Buffalo on May 5th, 1919.

On May 7th, Base Hospital No. 23, comprising 176 men and eight officers, all Buffalonians, was welcomed home. It embarked for Europe on November 21st, 1917, under Dr. Marshall Clinton. It was stationed at Vittel in the Vosges, where it rendered great service. It returned under Major Joseph B. Betts. Dr. Clinton was made consulting surgeon of the First American Army and later of the Second American Army and advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

On April 19th, 1919, was awarded to Base Hospital No. 23, the following citation:

"Lieut.-Col. Marshall Clinton, M. C., U. S. A., for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous services at Base Hospital No. 23, France, American Expeditionary Forces. In testimony thereof, and as an expression of appreciation of these services, I award him this Citation.

JOHN J. PERSHING,

"Commander-in-Chief."

On May 11th, Major-General Robert Alexander and staff with the veterans of the fighting 77th Division received a royal welcome. The 302d Regiment of Engineers were followed by two sections of Infantry, the heroes of Chateau Thierry and the Argonne Forest.

On May 21st, the remaining 117 members of the 77th Division arrived and were also welcomed.

On May 30th, about 300 veterans of the 78th Division, known as the Lightning Division, returned and were heartily welcomed.

The 309th Infantry Regiment of the 78th Division, returned later. That Regiment was in the Argonne Forest

from October 16th to November 5th, 1918. It had been in the Saint Mihiel sector from September 1st to October 4th, 1918.

On June 8th, 300 more members of the 309th Infantry Regiment were welcomed back to Buffalo.

On July 10th, 104 members of the 51st and 53d pioneer regiments returned under escort of Dr. C. Frank Bruso.

On August 14th about 100 members of the 5th and 6th Regiments of Marines returned to Buffalo and received a rousing welcome. It will be remembered that it was the United States Marines that checked the German advance at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood and eventually turned the tide of battle in the great war.

Commissioner Charles M. Heald officially welcomed them. They were in the fight that saved Paris from the enemy, when the German advance appeared irresistible.

In welcoming home its 18,000 or more soldiers, Buffalo expended something like \$80,000, in addition to the expenses of organizations and individuals.

VICTORY LOAN CAMPAIGN.

The campaign for the fifth and last Liberty Loan was opened in Buffalo, April 21st, 1919, by Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer at a banquet at the Iroquois Hotel. Walter P. Cooke, Chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee, presided, and opened the campaign and later presented Mayor George S. Buck and Attorney-General Palmer. Buffalo's quota to be raised was \$46,000,000. That with the \$190,000,000 raised in the four preceding Liberty Loan campaigns totalled \$236,000,000. Several hundred members of the campaign committee were in attendance. Hon. Job E. Hedges, Admiral William S. Sims, General John F. O'Ryan, Col. William J. Donovan and others spoke during that campaign. Pershing's Band was in Buffalo to arouse interest in the campaign. Mayor Buck

declared a civic half holiday on May 2nd when 637 little girls, dressed in white, paraded the streets with the large American flag, 50 x 75 feet, which had been displayed in other cities. The campaign ended May 10th and the Buffalo subscriptions totalled \$57,103,250, which was \$11,003,250 in excess of its quota. Buffalo's record in the fourth Liberty Loan Campaign shows that its citizens subscribed in the aggregate for \$66,583,700.

SOME OCCURRENCES DURING THE YEAR.

Buffalo's War Exposition was opened at the Broadway Auditorium on January 1st, 1919, with a complete programme of exercises, William A. Morgan presiding. Ceremonies were also observed at Elmwood Music Hall at which Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, was the speaker.

The exposition continued nine days and war materials and paraphernalia were exhibited. That was in aid of the Red Cross and other war activities and was seen by 250,000 visitors.

On Saturday evening, January 4th, 1919, occurred the annual dinner of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, presided over by Henry D. Miles, its president. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, and John McF. Howie, were the principal speakers.

On January 8th, Buffalonians assembled in the Elmwood Music Hall to pay tribute to the memory of the late Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who died at Oyster Bay, January 6th, 1919. Chancellor Charles P. Norton of Buffalo University presided, and addresses were made by Rev. George Frederic Williams, Rev. Father Mooney and Rev. S. V. V. Holmes.

On January 14th, the City Council approved the proposed bond issue of \$8,000,000 for additional school buildings and facilities.

About January 15th, Col. Charles Clifton donated to the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy \$100,000, the income of which is to be used in the purchase of rare works of art. That is the largest gift made to the Academy aside from the gift of the building presented by J. J. Albright.

On February 1st, 1919, Rev. William Turner, D. D., professor at the Catholic University at Washington, was appointed Bishop of the Buffalo Diocese. He was consecrated at Brooklands near Baltimore on March 30th, 1919, by James Cardinal Gibbons. He was installed as the Sixth Roman Catholic Bishop of Buffalo on April 9th, 1919, by Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes of New York, assisted by Bishop Thomas J. Walsh of Trenton and Bishop Edmund F. Gibbons of Albany. He is an accomplished linguist and the author of works on philosophy and religion.

The Right Rev. Charles Henry Brent, D. D., served for a year or more as senior headquarters chaplain in the American Expeditionary Forces in France and was in close touch with General Pershing. He rendered distinguished services and was raised to the rank of Major. He arrived in Buffalo on February 4th, 1919, and was formally welcomed by representative citizens in Elmwood Music Hall on February 6th, 1919. On the same day he was installed as Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York with an impressive ceremonial. He is the Fourth Bishop of the Diocese and was formerly the Missionary Bishop of the Philippine Islands.

On January 24th, Rabbi Louis J. Kopald celebrated his sixth anniversary as rabbi of Temple Beth Zion on Delaware Avenue. There was a large attendance.

On January 30th, word was received in Buffalo that the Federal Reserve Board had decided to establish a branch bank in Buffalo, which was opened on May 15th with R. M. Gidney, its manager.

On January 30th the appointment of Harry Wescott Rockwell of Pelham Manor as principal of the State Normal School of Buffalo was approved by the State Board of Regents to succeed the late Daniel Upton.

The Buffalo War Relief Committee organized June 20th, 1916, and consisting of Col. Charles Clifton, Edmund Hayes, Hugh Kennedy, Jesse C. Dann, Rev. S. V. V. Holmes, Charles Van Bergen, George B. Mathews, O. E. Foster, and George P. Sawyer, made its report on February 27th, showing that it collected and disbursed \$250,486.99 principally to French, Armenian, Syrian, Serbian and Belgian children and agencies and had donated \$8,000 to the Red Cross and lesser amounts to Y. M. C. A., hospitals and to other agencies.

On March 27th the Buffalo State Normal School was dedicated and Harry W. Rockwell was formally installed as principal. Dr. Thomas E. Finnegan of the State Department of Education delivered the formal address at dedication and installation. The State Board of Regents were present and Dr. Charles A. Richmond, President of Union College, and Dr. James Byrne, Regent, delivered addresses, and Principal Rockwell responded.

On April 20th, Buffalo members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, including representatives of 48 lodges of Erie County, celebrated at Elmwood Music Hall the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Order in America. Judge Henry V. Borst, at the head of the Order, was the principal speaker.

On April 21st, the Broadway National Bank, 1067 Broadway, was opened with Maxwell M. Nowak as President.

On May 1st, Frederic Almy celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his secretaryship of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo.

On May 1st, Buffalo Sunday School children paraded

the streets and were reviewed by Mayor Buck and members of the City Council at Delaware Park.

On May 7th, nearly all the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church convened in the Richmond Avenue M. E. Church in this city in their semi-annual Board meeting, which extended over several days. The Bishops were from all parts of the country and remained over Sunday, May 11th, and preached in various pulpits of the city.

On May 15th, Governor Alfred E. Smith appointed Hon. Philip A. Laing, County Judge of Erie County, a Justice of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Herbert P. Bissell until the next election; and on the same day the Governor appointed former Senator George B. Burd, County Judge of Erie County, until the election and qualification of a successor to Philip A. Laing, resigned.

Early in June, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, City Health Commissioner, returned from Poland. He was a director of moral and physical welfare work in the 28 camps of the Polish Army and in charge of the sanitation of army camps. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and transferred to Red Cross work.

On June 13th, the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce went on its cruise up the lake to Cleveland and up the Detroit River. The principal speaker on that occasion was Hon. Theodore E. Burton, former U. S. Senator from Ohio; 500 Buffalonians made the cruise. The party was entertained in Cleveland by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

On June 15th, patriotic exercises were held in the Park at the Front under the auspices of the Niagara Frontier Past Chancellors' Association of the Knights of Pythias. The orators of the occasion were Hon. Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State and Rev. William R. Torrens of Buffalo.

An army aeroplane took mail from Buffalo to Albany

on June 22nd in two hours and twenty minutes. Lieutenant John Plumb was the aviator and the machine was "The Phoebe." Miss Dorothy G. Craigie, an Albany reporter, was a passenger.

On July 9th, Roland Rohlfs of Buffalo made a flight from Buffalo to Hempstead, Long Island, in one of the new Curtiss Orioles, without stop, in five hours.

On July 30th, Roland Rohlfs in a Curtiss 400 horsepower triplane broke the American record in attaining the altitude of 30,700 feet over the Roosevelt Field at Long Island.

Independence Day was celebrated as no other July 4th had been for years. Thousands of Buffalo soldiers from European battlefields joined in the parade and exercises. Ralph S. Kent presided and addresses were made by Mayor Buck, Chaplain John C. Ward and Walter P. Cooke. Mr. Cooke paid tribute to the returned heroes and said that they "had carried the flag across the seas and brought it back unsullied by compromise or defeat, but glorified by victory." They had demonstrated that America is willing to fight for liberty not only for herself but for the world.

On July 18th, Charles F. Boine, an attorney of Buffalo, was appointed temporary Postmaster, following the death of George J. Meyer.

On July 20th, Rev. Dr. W. F. Smith took up his pastoral duties at the Delaware Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church. He succeeded Rev. Thomas Oliver Grieves, who resigned to accept a call to Boise City, Idaho.

On August 3rd, Buffalo was visited by Hans Sulzer, the Ambassador of Switzerland to the United States.

On August 5th, the World's Conference of the Christian Endeavor Societies convened in Buffalo. Rev. Francis E. Clark, the founder and 2200 delegates from many parts of the world were in attendance. They were

officially welcomed by Mayor Buck and addressed by Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. It was a remarkable assemblage.

The Knights of Columbus held a convention in Buffalo on August 5th and were addressed by Admiral William Shepard Benson, Hon. Newton D. Baker, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, James A. Flaherty of Philadelphia, and Bishop Thomas J. Shanahan, rector of the Catholic University in Washington. The convention outlined an educational programme and adjourned August 7th.

On August 7th, Thomas Morton Gibson, vice-president of Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Company, was presented with a testimonial by his associates in the store on the completion of fifty years continuous service and received the congratulations of his many friends in and out of the establishment.

Labor Parade on September 1st, was one of the largest ever witnessed. Every class and condition of labor was represented in the parade.

On September 13th, prominent merchants, manufacturers, statesmen and publicists of Switzerland, numbering 200, visited Buffalo and Niagara Falls industries.

On September 14th, President-elect Charles D. B. King of Liberia, Africa, accompanied by H. T. Worley, the financial adviser of that Republic, was in Buffalo en route for Boston.

September 17th was observed pursuant to the proclamation of the Governor and that of the acting Mayor, Charles M. Heald, as Constitutional Day.

On September 20th, seven heroes of the great war received decorations from the Italian and French Governments in recognition of heroic services. Lieutenant T. A. Murphy of the 108th Field Artillery, received the Belgian Cross, while in Europe.

On September 22nd, there were strikes of steel workers at Buffalo and Lackawanna plants as there were at such plants in other parts of the country. Several hundred went out in Buffalo and Lackawanna. There was but little rioting in this vicinity. The strikers had a large but orderly parade in Lackawanna on October 25th, but the strike was not a success and the workers gradually resumed work when they could do so.

The new arts course in the University of Buffalo opened on September 29th with several new professors and a student body of 1000 members.

The Medical annex of the Grosvenor Library was opened on September 22nd, affording reference works and ample accommodations for physicians and medical students.

Surplus army foods were placed on sale at several stations in Buffalo on September 23rd, and the sale continued for several days and at different dates.

On October 6th, King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians and Crown Prince Leopold, the Belgian Ambassador Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, and Baroness de Marchienne, Countess Chislaine de Caraman-Chimay, lady in waiting to her Majesty, Lieutenant General Baron Jacques, Commander of the Third Division of the Belgian army, and suite, visited Buffalo and received a royal welcome. Mayor Buck delivered the address of welcome. While in Buffalo King Albert, the Queen and Prince Leopold were entertained at the home of Mrs. Charles W. Goodyear on Delaware Avenue.

The Buffalo Orpheus celebrated its Golden Jubilee with a concert at Elmwood Music Hall October 6th and a banquet on October 7th with several speeches in appreciation of the work of the organization and its contributions in the musical culture of the city.

On October 14th, the Lafayette National Bank of Buf-

falo was opened, facing Lafayette Square, with Hon. George Zimmerman as president.

Cardinal Mercier of Belgium was introduced to Buffalo on October 15th, by Mayor Buck and Hon. Frank B. Baird. Elmwood Music Hall was filled to greet him. There Judge Daniel J. Kenefick introduced the Cardinal. He was driven about the city and spent the night at the Episcopal residence of Bishop Turner. The Buffalo *Express* said of the Cardinal that "This man is unique among the great figures of these extraordinary times."

The Roosevelt Memorial Association was addressed at the Hutchinson High School on October 27th by Hon. William R. Wood, M. C., of Indiana, who paid high tribute to the memory of the late Colonel Roosevelt.

At the general election on November 4th, Arthur W. Kreinheder, Frank C. Perkins and Ross Graves were elected as members of the Buffalo City Council. Hon. Charles M. Heald and Hon. Frederick G. Bagley, after serving most efficiently as Councilmen, retired on December 31st.

Alonzo G. Hinkley was elected Justice of the Supreme Court, Thomas H. Noonan was elected County Judge of Erie County, Horace F. Hunt was elected Commissioner of Charities and George W. Woltz was elected as Chief Judge of the City Court of Buffalo.

On November 11th, Armistice day, Prince Casimir Lubomirski and Princess Therese Lubomirski of Poland were in Buffalo and attended sessions of the All-Polish Convention at Dom Polski where 800 delegates assembled. Mayor Buck and Health Commissioner Dr. Francis E. Fronczak met the Prince and party at the station and they were escorted to the Hotel Iroquois by Battery C. of the 65th Artillery Regiment. In the party were Count Francis Pulaski, first Secretary of the new Polish Embassy to the United States.

On November 16th, 50 members of the Trade Missions of our war allies visited Buffalo, seeking American credits. British, French, Italian and Belgian interests were represented.

In November, James Moore Hickson, the lay healer of the Anglican Church of England, was in Buffalo a full week and held meetings beginning November 17th in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, which were largely attended.

The third campaign for the Joint Charity Fund, which ended on November 24th, resulted in raising \$461,662, whereas the amount sought was \$400,000. That fund is to go to the Red Cross and to nine local charities.

PORT OF BUFFALO.

The ex-lake grain receipts at Buffalo for the season of navigation were 94,472,127 bushels and 5,155,755 barrels of flour which estimated as grain made the total grain receipts 120,250,902 bushels whereas in 1918 the total receipts, including flour, were 131,065,678 bushels. The receipts of ore were 4,837,981 tons, of lumber 16,374,709 feet, of shingles 50,536,000, and other articles less than those of 1918, except sacks of feed, which were 744,242 as compared with 288,487 received in 1918. The exports from Buffalo up the lakes in coal, totalled 4,156,480 tons, in salt 131,268 barrels, in cement 250 barrels and in sugar 152,750 barrels.

The shrinkage in ex-lake tonnage was due in part to the Federal Administration of the railroads and the shipment of grains under the control of the Governmental agencies by all-rail routes to the seaboard. The canal tonnage for the year on all the canals of the State totalled 1,238,844 tons. On the Erie canal it was 842,164 tons, on the Champlain canal it was 363,699 tons, on the Cayuga and Seneca canal it was 12,252 tons, on the Oswego canal it was 15,888 tons, and on the Black River it was 4,841

tons. The canal tonnage of the port of Buffalo for the year 1919 was: out-going, 203,925 tons; in-coming, 382,842 tons.

INDUSTRIES.

Since the signing of the armistice and during the year 1919, Buffalo's industries slackened down in the production of the munitions and supplies of war and began to assume normal conditions. The large factories completed such contracts as were not cancelled, but soon went back to the pre-war basis in production, though wages were not materially reduced. It became necessary, however, to let go many employes, and thousands were out of employment. The returning soldiers without positions increased the number of unemployed. In the meantime the prices of edibles, of household necessities, of clothing and of fuel advanced despite all efforts on the part of the Government to regulate prices. They are now higher than they were during the war. Labor conditions have been unsettled and business affairs have been undergoing a readjustment to meet changed conditions. Still more serious conditions prevail in other countries, which increase their seriousness in this country. Thoughtful citizens are investigating the industrial, economic and financial problems of the times, not for the purpose of accentuating, but rather for the purpose of allaying the unrest. It has been quite too much the popular conception of many to argue themselves into a state of self-justification to sustain themselves in their efforts to get whatever they were able from others and from the Government at the least expenditure of time and money on their part. Such a conception of duty to one's self, to his neighbor and to his country is not in accord with the Golden Rule of doing justice to others; and furthermore, it is destructive of the confidence that must exist in all business transactions. All classes must give something to the common-

weal rather than strive to take from it, either wages or profits, to which they are not justly entitled, else this Government may not endure. The responsibility of self-government must be borne by all classes and cannot be disregarded by any without imperilling its foundations.

ACTIVITIES OF THE BUFFALO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

During the year the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce has been very much engrossed in many activities. Its president, Mr. Samuel B. Botsford, and directors and staff, have been frequently called upon to receive and entertain visiting groups of representatives and organizations from other states and foreign countries, notably from Italy, France, Belgium, Great Britain and elsewhere, and veteran soldiers from Belgium and France. Judge Thomas H. Noonan was chairman of the entertainment committee. The visitors came from all parts of Western Europe. They had lived so long in shell-shocking and nerve-racking war zones, that they were impelled to seek asylum where for a time they might enjoy the blessings of peaceful environment. The Chamber's greatest service to the community, however, was its success in securing important new industries. Throughout the year it carried on negotiations with scores of new enterprises, entertained their representatives in Buffalo, secured the detailed information they required and straightened out difficulties at Albany and Washington for them. The most notable achievement was the securing of Dunlop American, Ltd., which is expected to become the largest industry on the frontier.

On December 23rd and 24th, the Lusk Legislative Investigating Committee held sessions in Buffalo and directed the searching by the police of the headquarters of the Communists. Thirty or more arrests were made, and these were followed by other arrests in the nation-wide

raid on January 2nd, when 136 alleged radicals were taken into custody in Buffalo by the police and Federal agents. The Department of Justice served documentary evidence from Russian sources showing that a world-wide Bolshevik programme was to be inaugurated.

NOTABLE DEATHS DURING 1919.

The first notable death to occur was that of the Rev. Samuel S. Mitchell, D. D., on January 7th. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian church for 23 years, from 1880 until 1904, and one of the ablest pulpit orators in Buffalo. His pastorate extended over the period when the church organization left its old edifice down town and located in its new building at the Circle which was opened on December 13th, 1891.

On January 18th, Leo P. Frohe passed away. He had been engaged in stained-glass window and decorating business for 40 years and for 25 years was captain of Commandery No. 14 of the Knights of St. John.

James F. Crooker, former City Superintendent of Education and later State Superintendent of Education, died in New York at the age of 84 years, February 1st, 1919. He was elected City Superintendent of Education in 1881, and served from January 1882 to 1891 when he was appointed by Governor Flower, State Superintendent of Education and served in that position until 1894, when he returned to Buffalo and was for a time in the Water Bureau with the late Colonel Francis E. Ward.

February 24th, William P. Goodspeed, business manager of the Buffalo *Evening News*, died as a result of injuries received in an automobile accident. He was well and favorably known in the city and had been associated with the *News* for 40 years.

On February 25th, Sylvester E. Croll, the well known sales manager and director of the Fenton Fire Box Company of Tonawanda, passed away.

On February 26th, former Justice Thomas Murphy died. He brought many reforms to the Police Court where he served from 1901 to 1909.

On February 28th, at her home in Honolulu, there passed away Mrs. William Alanson Bryan, formerly Miss Elizabeth Letson, who for 17 years before her marriage was associated with the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences and director of the Museum.

On March 6th, George L. Williams of New York, formerly a Buffalo banker, passed away. He was for many years a member of this Society, and was treasurer of the Pan-American Exposition Company. His burial took place in Buffalo on March 8th.

On March 18th, George W. Wilson, Treasurer of the International Railway Company, died, and on the same day Arthur B. Christey, former Deputy City Comptroller, died suddenly of paralysis.

On April 5th, Margaret L. Wilson, widow of the late Robert P. Wilson, and daughter of the late Judge James M. Smith, died. She was the aunt of Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President of this Society, and was a member of the Historical Society. She held several positions of trust and was devoted to charities, literature, art and music.

On April 10th, at Fort Wayne, Indiana, Simon A. Nash passed away. He had been Police and City Court Judge and County Clerk of Erie County.

April 30th, Hon. Herbert P. Bissell, Justice of the Supreme Court, and member of the Historical Society, died of heart failure while presiding at a trial in Lockport. He graduated from De Veaux College in Niagara Falls in 1873. Thereafter he studied in Germany for two years and later entered Harvard University from which he graduated in 1880, with the degree of B. A. In 1913, he was appointed by Governor Dix, Justice of the Supreme Court in the Eighth Judicial District for the remainder

of that year. At the November election that year he was elected for the full term of 14 years succeeding the late Justice Alfred Spring. Judge Bissell was an accomplished gentleman of scholarly attainments, and for many years one of the favorite after-dinner speakers in this city. His successor, appointed by Governor Smith, is Hon. Philip A. Laing, then County Judge of Erie County.

On May 21st passed away John G. Seeger, who had been in the furniture business since 1880.

On May 21st, Edward Elden, for a long time connected with the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company, passed away. He was well known in fraternal circles in Buffalo.

On May 22nd, Mary Shepard Parke, wife of James B. Parke, died. She was a graduate of Elmira College and historian of the North Presbyterian Church. She was one of the founders of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, a member of the Women's Educational & Industrial Union, of the Homeopathic Hospital, and was on the boards of many civic, philanthropic and educational institutions. She was a graceful writer of prose and verse.

On May 25th, after an illness of two years, Adolph Rebadow died at his home on Auburn Avenue. He was senior member of the law firm of Rebadow, Ladd & Brown. For a time he was Transfer Tax Appraiser in this city. He was one of the best known and most popular members of the Bar.

William S. Wicks, a life member of the Historical Society and the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, died on May 30th. He was a member of the firm of Green & Wicks, architects. He was a Park Commissioner of Buffalo from 1897 to 1900. The firm designed many buildings in Buffalo, including the Albright Art Gallery building.

On June 14th, Frederick A. Vogt, principal of the Hutchinson High School, died at his home. For 26 years he was principal of the old Central and Hutchinson High Schools, succeeding Henry P. Emerson of the former. He specialized in geology and natural history and received honorary degrees from Dartmouth and Colgate Colleges.

Herman F. Gentsch passed away June 18th. He was superintendent of printing in the Matthews, Northrup Works and was associated with that business for 65 years. He served in the Civil War in the 116th New York Infantry Regiment.

On June 30th, suddenly passed away, while at his desk, John L. Daniels, for several years cashier of the Bank of Buffalo. For 36 years he had been identified with that banking institution and was one of the popular and efficient bank cashiers of Buffalo. He was also a prominent member of the Buffalo Yacht Club.

Martin Fisher, of the firm of Martin Fisher & Sons, died July 2nd. He established the heating and ventilating business of the firm 50 years ago.

On July 13th, George Joseph Meyer died at his home on North Street. He was appointed Postmaster on July 2, 1916, to fill out the unexpired term of the late William F. Kasting. He was one of the delegates at large to the Democratic Convention that nominated President Wilson. For many years he was engaged in the malting business. He was widely and favorably known in Buffalo.

On July 23rd, William J. Forsyth of the firm of Forsyth & Son, shoe dealers on Seneca Street, died after an operation. He had been in the shoe business 40 years. For 25 years he had been president of the Irish-American Savings & Loan Association.

On August 6th, Police Inspector Charles N. Miller, well known in Buffalo, passed away at his home on Bird Avenue. He was formerly in the lumber business and the first president of the Lumbermen's Union.

On August 6th, Dr. John A. Pettit passed away. He had been in active practice in Buffalo from 1874 until 1917, when he met with an accident that incapacitated him for business. He was Deputy Health Commissioner under the late Dr. Ernest Wende.

On August 11th, James B. McDonnell died after an operation. For 27 years he was the Great Commander of the Maccabees and was well known in other fraternal circles.

On August 12th, Thomas O'Brien passed away. He had been in the Police Department for more than 43 years. He entered the Signal Corps service of the United States Army at the age of 14 and was the inventor of several improvements in telegraphic instruments.

Judge William H. Cuddeback, Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, died on August 16th, 1919, at Goshen, N. Y. He was chairman of the Democratic Committee of Erie County from 1895 to 1897 and Corporation Counsel for Buffalo for the years 1898 to 1902. He was elected Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1912 and served thereon from January 1913 until his death.

Captain Timothy W. Collins of the Central Park Police Precinct, died on August 29th. He was the second oldest captain in service, his term continuing from October, 1899, and most of the time at the Austin-street station.

Professor Adolf Duschak, for 36 years principal of Public School No. 9 on Bailey Avenue, died on September 5th at the age of 77 years lacking one day. He was a graduate of the University of Vienna. He was familiar with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, French, English and other modern languages. He was an accomplished scholar. He knew the Bible and was a lecturer on scientific subjects. He was a member of the former Liberal Club and later of the Unitarian Club.

On September 14th, Miss Martha T. Williams, daughter

of the late Gibson T. Williams and Harriet C. H. Williams, passed away at her home on Main Street. She was well known for her interest in philanthropic work. She and her mother founded the Children's Hospital on Bryant Street, 26 years prior to her death.

On September 22nd, Albert G. Hatch passed away. He had been engaged in the real estate business in Buffalo for many years. He made a study of archaeology and left a fine collection.

On October 14th, Mrs. Emily Babcock Alward, a life member of this Society, passed away.

On October 17th, Miss Sophie C. Becker, a resident member of this Society, died. She was assistant superintendent of the Buffalo Public Schools.

On October 18th, Edward J. Eisele died at the advanced age of 89 years. He was a member of the firm of King & Eisle, one of the best known jewelry firms in the country. Mr. Eisele had held many positions of trust in this city.

On October 28th, William C. Russell died at the advanced age of 89 years. He came to Buffalo on a canal-boat in 1830, and was for many years engaged as a member of the firm of Felthousen & Russell, which dealt in ship supplies. He was a member of this Society.

On October 30th, Charles H. Steinway, a life member of this Society, passed away in New York City. The firm of which he was a member, at the close of the Pan-American Exposition, presented this Society with the grand piano in the central court of this building.

On November 5th, George W. Farnham of the George W. Farnham Company, died of heart trouble. He was prominent in the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and in other organizations, and a member of this Society.

On November 9th, John Kam, formerly a maltster, died at his home on Linwood Avenue.

On November 10th, Hon. Edward K. Emery died at his home in Argyle Park. Judge Emery was a member of the Assembly in 1887 and 1888, County Judge of Erie County from 1896 to 1906, and was then elected a Justice of the Supreme Court, where he served until his death.

THE LATE ANDREW LANGDON.

Andrew Langdon, honorary president of the Buffalo Historical Society since 1910 and president of the Society from 1894 to 1909, inclusive, died on November 11th at the age of 84 years. He was one of Buffalo's Park Commissioners from 1897 to 1903 and was one of its Grade Crossing Commissioners for a term of five years. He was one of the directors of the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts and of the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences. He was also an officer of the Buffalo Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution and of the Society of Colonial Wars. In all those organizations, when in health, he took an active part. His energy was untiring and his advice always welcomed. He did much for charity and especially for the Homeopathic Hospital. His gifts were unique, as shown in the bronze replica of David by Michel Angelo, the original being one of the two greatest productions of that sculptor, presented to the Buffalo Historical Society and to the City of Buffalo; and also shown in the Medicean candelabra at the north approach to the Historical Building, and in the bronze gates in its north entrance, also the gift of Mr. Langdon, which were specially designed for it. He was president of the Society when this building was secured as its permanent home. He was unfailing in support of all projects undertaken to promote its welfare. On some other occasion his services to this and to other organizations may be recorded at greater length.

In all his activities, he was devoted to art and sought out the true and beautiful, as evidenced in the gifts already referred to and in others to the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts. He seemed to have been guided if not inspired by a true conception of art and was content only with the exemplification of its ideality in achievement as in the statue of David and in the landscapes of Corot. This Society and this city will miss him.

Dr. William G. Bissell died on November 14th. He was the brother of the late Justice Herbert P. Bissell. For 20 years Dr. Bissell was Surgeon of the 74th Regiment, N. G. of New York, and in late years he was affiliated with the 65th Regiment. He was a member of various medical, hygienic and military organizations, and at the time of his death was City Bacteriologist.

Major-General Samuel M. Welch, commanding the Fourth Brigade, National Guard of New York, died suddenly on November 23rd at his home in Johnson Park. He was a lawyer by profession, but had devoted much of his time for nearly half a century to military affairs. He was a veteran of the Spanish War at which time he commanded the 65th Infantry Regiment, N. G. of New York. He was president of the National Guard Association of the State and chairman of the Law Committee for 30 years. He was commissioned as Major-General by Governor Odell in 1904, in recognition of 25 years' active service in the National Guard and assigned to the Fourth Brigade in 1911 by Governor Dix. He had the longest continuous active service in the National Guard of any commissioned officer in Buffalo.

On December 6th, John Lyon died at the Homeopathic Hospital. He was well known in fraternal circles and has been secretary of the local Eagles for ten years.

On December 11th, George F. Rand, executive and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Marine Trust

Company was killed in an aeroplane accident at Caterham, Surrey, England. He was returning from Paris to London, when in a thick fog, the machine crashed into and through a tree down to the ground and Mr. Rand was pinned under one of the wings of the machine. He suffered a compound fracture of the skull and laceration of the brain and died very soon. The remains were brought to Buffalo and the funeral took place on December 26th, 1919. The burial was in Forest Lawn Cemetery. Before leaving France, he gave 500,000 francs to commemorate the heroism of the French battalion in the defense of one of the outer trenches near Verdun, which battalion, as it was about to charge the enemy, was overwhelmed and buried by the explosion of a shell. Ambassador Wallace described the affair to President Poincare as "soldiers standing with bayonets fixed to meet the enemy, 'an eternal monument of an immortal courage'." Mr. Rand was a financier and banker of distinction. He made liberal contributions to joint charities and to the Harvard, Technical and Cornell endowments and to churches. The aviator, Lieutenant Bradley, piloting the machine in which Mr. Rand was riding from Paris, was so badly injured that he also died.

On December 21st, at Lakewood, Ohio, Frank E. Dimick passed away. He had been in poor health following the Spanish influenza, for some months. He had lived in Buffalo many years and was a prominent member of the Knights of Pythias. He was well and favorably known in Buffalo.

Major Walter F. Gibson and Charles Tagg were instantly killed in an automobile collision with a telephone pole and then with a tree on the Williamsville road shortly before midnight on December 20th. It was a most deplorable accident. Major Gibson was assistant sales manager of the Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Company and

had served on the military staff of Governor Charles S. Whitman. He was also well known in masonic organizations.

The long list of Buffalo's heroes who made the supreme sacrifice in the great war is not included in this report, but will be printed in that being compiled by Daniel J. Sweeney, City Clerk of Buffalo. They are among the immortals, and generations will recall their names in grateful remembrance of the supreme sacrifice which they made, in order that free institutions might be preserved and that the progress of our civilization be not stayed for an indefinite period of time. In that struggle, that drew into its vortex the nations of the earth, about 18,000 Buffalonians were engaged and were in training therefor in addition to the many more thousands engaged at home in various war-service activities. When the history of Buffalo's part in the great war is written we may then the better understand what it cost to win the war, to do which it was necessary to crush the military despotism of the Imperial German Empire, a despotism that stifled individual and self-directed enterprises as well as freedom of speech and subordinated all human activities to the will of the Kaiser, a despotism that devastated Belgium as completely as Samaria was laid waste by Shalmaneser and Sargon, 724-721 B. C. History thus repeats itself and the brutal instincts of frenzied rulers spare neither the innocent nor the helpless in their dash for dominion.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The foregoing record of events and survey of some of the activities of Buffalonians must necessarily be incomplete, owing to their multitude and the limited time and space at our command, in which to enumerate the military activities, historical events and notable deaths, that

occurred in Buffalo in the year 1919. All those and many others will find permanent record in this Society, whose mission is to discover, collate and preserve the essentials of the history of this region. They are accumulating rapidly, when history is being made as fast as it has been during the past three years. This Society is doing what it can to perpetuate all such matters that constitute the history of Buffalo.

The growth of this city due to its rail and water transportation facilities and to its electric power generated at Niagara to propel its wheels of industry, all contributing to the multiplication of its diversified industries and to its commercial expansion, has been unprecedented. Many changes in the city itself have taken place, new areas have been occupied and the city has had a remarkable growth in many directions. In the transformation of old Buffalo into the present growing industrial city, old landmarks are passing and their structures are becoming historic. The next generation will know the Buffalo of the eighties largely from matters of history. This Society must do what it may to preserve and perpetuate that history.

The managers of the Society have under consideration a plan to interest the pupils in the schools of Buffalo, in its library, museum and collections, that they may familiarize themselves with local history, which is so inter-related to state, national and Canadian history as to open up fields of research of increasing interest to the ambitious student. Here may be found abundant material for such research in the fundamentals of local history. The library and archives are open to the public daily. They are frequented by students and Buffalonians in increasing numbers.

Its lecture courses are edifying and well attended. It is one of the active educational institutions of the city,

it is rendering a public service to Buffalonians of inestimable value. Its publications are genuine historical productions and commended by the American Historical Association and others competent to speak on contributions to historical literature.

The properties of the Society are stored in this fire-proof building and during the year some insurance has been taken out as an additional protection. The building is in good repair and everything is being done to conserve and preserve the valuable collections of this Society as well as its funds, as shown by the treasurer's report. His accounts are examined annually by a certified public accountant and are approved.

The Board of Managers of this Society, who administered its affairs during the year 1919, were: Andrew Langdon, Honorary President; Henry W. Hill, President; Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President; Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer; Albert H. Briggs, M. D., Lee H. Smith, M. D., John G. Wickser, William A. Galpin, Howard H. Baker, Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett Rich, Henry W. Sprague, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, Loran L. Lewis, George A. Stringer, Captain Evan Hollister, Edward S. Hawley and Carlton R. Perrine.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

Generally speaking, the year 1919 was one of economies. While our institution has been well maintained, we have not undertaken work involving much expense, either for the library or museum. I will not here repeat what I have said in former reports, on the needs of these departments. The needs still continue. Our main outlay, aside

from the necessary routine expenditure for maintenance, has been for insurance and for protective installation. Thanks to the efficient care of Engineer Thomas Jones and assistants, the property is well looked after and is in excellent condition.

Only minor repairs have been required by the building. An inventory of museum property has been begun, and will be carried to completion, so far as it is possible to indicate values.

SAFETY STORAGE VAULT.

I beg to direct the attention of the Society to one need which has existed ever since we took possession of this building, and which steadily increases. I mean the need of a safety storage vault, fire-proof, damp-proof and burglar-proof.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year we lost by death nine members, a smaller number than in any other recent year. The names of those who have died are:

DEATHS FROM MEMBERSHIP, 1919.

Apr. 5.	Mrs. Robert P. Wilson.....	Resident Member	
Apr. 30.	Hon. Herbert P. Bissell.....	"	"
May 30.	William S. Wicks.....	Life	"
Oct. 14.	Mrs. Emily B. Alward.....	"	"
Oct. 17.	Miss Sophie C. Becker.....	Resident	"
Oct. 28.	William C. Russell.....	"	"
Oct. 30.	Charles H. Steinway, N. Y. City....	Life	"
Nov. 5.	George W. Farnham.....	Resident	"
Nov. 11.	Andrew Langdon.....	Patron	

With the exception of Mr. Steinway, whose life membership was bestowed in 1901, in recognition of his generous gift of the Steinway concert-grand piano which won first prize at the Pan-American Exposition, all in the list were well-known citizens of Buffalo and most of them were long-time members and friends of this Society.

Our paramount loss during the year was in the death of Mr. Langdon, for fourteen years its president, for ten more years, to the time of his death, its honorary president, and, from his first participation in the work of the Society, in 1886, always one of its foremost upbuilders. The Board of Managers, in a Memorial adopted shortly after his death, have reviewed at some length the character and value of his services, and have striven to express their appreciation of what he accomplished and their regard for him as an associate. This Memorial will appear, with this report, in the published Proceedings of the Society.

During the year 1919, we gained two life members and 61 annual members.

LIBRARY.

Having no longer a State appropriation, our modest purchases for the Library have been made with money from the General Fund, and much of this has gone for necessary binding, the cost of which has greatly increased. We continue to add Buffalo imprints and books and pamphlets relating to our region, as well as the work of Buffalo authors. Some effort has been made to secure rare early imprints of Western New York towns. We have bought very sparingly of genealogy, and not at all of general works which go into the Buffalo Public or Grosvenor libraries. We aim to avoid duplication with these institutions. Several fine opportunities to secure desirable material at auction sales, were lost through too low bidding.

The library has been greatly enriched during the year by gift. Most notable were a number of books received from Mrs. James Tillinghast, whose valuable gifts to our library were noted in my report a year ago. Her more recent gifts include John Guillim's "Display of Heraldry," 1638; "Armorial historique du Pays de Vaud," 1880; and

Lyndsay's Heraldic Manuscript of 1542, as published 1878. Many of the accessions relate to the recent war, and are gifts from our own or foreign Governments, or from various war-work organizations.

By gift and purchase we have added 610 books and pamphlets during the year, the total number now in the Society library being 27,481. The Lord library, which we care for, numbers 10,260 volumes. The care and daily administration of these libraries continues, as for some years past, in the faithful and capable hands of Mrs. Anna A. Andrews.

MANUSCRIPTS IN WASHINGTON.

In May, at the close of the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, in Philadelphia, the Secretary availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Library of Congress in order to learn what manuscripts were preserved there which are of importance in the history of Buffalo and the Niagara region. The collection of such material is one of the first duties specified by the Constitution of this Society and the discovery of such material has been the constant aim of the Secretary. Heretofore manuscript material in the Library of Congress has not been easy to discover without the possible expenditure of much time and patience. In 1918, however, there was published a handbook of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, which is a most useful guide to the student. By the aid of this manual your Secretary was able to examine in one day all of the material contained in the Manuscripts Division relating specifically to our region. No attempt was made to copy the papers examined, since it is much more satisfactory and much more economical to have them copied by photostat process by one of the professional firms who are accredited to the use of the facilities in the Manuscript Division.

Here follows a brief record of the documents examined.

Miscellaneous letters of Millard Fillmore. In view of the publication by this Society of Mr. Fillmore's more important writings and of a large part of his letters, the Secretary does not recommend that any of these which may be still unpublished should be copied, as they do not appear to be of special value.

Letters and reports of General Jacob Brown. These include interesting memoranda of occurrences on the Niagara during the campaign of 1814. Also two letter-books of General Brown, one of which is almost wholly devoted to letters written from Buffalo and the Niagara in 1814-15. This material would be most appropriate for our Publications and should, in any case, be copied and preserved in our library.

Papers of Sir William Johnson, bound in one volume, folio. These were secured by the Library of Congress with the Library of Peter Force, which was purchased by the Government in 1867. The Johnson papers in this volume do not apparently duplicate any which were preserved at Albany. Although they cover the period of 1755 to 1774, in which Sir William was actively engaged in matters affecting the Niagara region, there is very little in them which would be a valuable addition to our local history. This was a disappointment to the secretary who had hoped to find in them much of importance. It is not recommended that any of them be copied for this Society.

"A Memoranda of a Military Tour to Posts and Garrisons of the Western Lakes," by Captain Roger Jones, May 20 to July 18, 1819. Sixty-three pages. This, it is believed, is an unpublished record of our region of prime importance and a good deal of interest. A copy of it has been secured by this Society.

An Orderly Book of Captain Beamsley Glasier, second battalion, 60th Regiment, British Army, contains a daily record of routine at Fort Niagara, November 4, 1771, to March 13, 1773. It is of some interest to the student of that period, but its copying is not recommended. Excerpts from it should be secured at some convenient time.

A certificate of Messrs. Sill, Thompson & Co., merchants of Black Rock, for the transportation of Stockton's company from Black Rock to Detroit on board the Steamer Walk-in-the-Water, July 6, 1819, was an item of some curiosity and a copy was taken of it by the Secretary.

The papers of Amasa Trowbridge contain a considerable correspondence with the historian Benson J. Lossing, also by Trowbridge; a long description of Fort Erie with a history of its siege, also other narratives and three pencil sketches relating to the general subject of operations on the Niagara in the war of 1814. These appear to be of enough importance to warrant their being copied for our collections.

A portfolio of military papers, most of them written during the year 1838 by Major Nathaniel Young, then in command at Buffalo, includes numerous facts regarding the disturbances on the frontier at that period. While of some value to the student of the Upper Canada Rebellion, the collection as a whole has not enough value to warrant the expense of copying. A record of it, however, should be kept by our institution in order to refer students to it as occasion arises.

In 1917 the Library of Congress acquired as gift from Miss Sarah Norton and Eliot Norton, of Boston, a miscellaneous lot of papers of Charles Eliot Norton, relating to the campaign to save the scenic value of Niagara Falls, 1880 to 1897. These papers are of prime importance in the history of our region. Some of them, however, have been published in New York and other newspapers of the

time. All of them deal with a period in our history just closed and of which this Society some years since published a very adequate review by the Hon. Thomas V. Welch, first superintendent of the State Park at Niagara. While, therefore, the Norton papers in the Library of Congress are of great value, it is not recommended that a copy of them should be secured, at least until our funds for the development of our library are more ample.

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXIII of the Society Publications, issued during the year, is entitled "The Life of Gen. Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary." It was written for us by Mr. Arthur C. Parker, New York State Archaeologist. With the main narrative were published as appendices, and editorial notes, a number of documents and other papers, supplied in part by Mr. Parker, in part by the Secretary, who edited the volume. The work is of distinct value, as a contribution to the Indian history of Western New York, and of the nation, and has proved so popular that the edition is exhausted. It will be—is already, in fact—one of the scarce books of our regional history.

The very great advance in the cost of everything connected with the printing trades and publishing business, makes the issuance of an annual volume which shall go free to all our members, something of a problem. To cheapen the quality of the book is not to be thought of. Of the 23 volumes which the Society has sent out, 20 have been prepared by the present Secretary. It has taken years to gain a reputation for good work in this field, but we have gained it, and now enjoy a wide reputation for the worth and good workmanship of our Publications. To cease work in this line, or to let it appear in a cheapened form, would be, in the writer's judgment, a

grievous mistake. It has long been the aim of your Secretary to make this series of volumes, as fully and completely as possible, the repository of attractively-presented, accurately written records of the essential history of our region; to make it the great standard encyclopaedia of Western New York history, an authority to which reference may be made with confidence. Such in fact our Publications have become. But there remains very much important material of the earlier years, as yet not properly recorded, but of importance; and each passing year creates new material—as instance, the part this community has borne in the Great War—which it is our proper function to record and make available for the future. Our publication work should not be curtailed, but rather enlarged, and there should be no difficulty in meeting the cost.

RECORDS OF THE RECENT WAR.

It should be added, regarding records of the recent war, that much time and labor have been given to their compilation. Where possible, classified data of the war activities of Buffalo men and women have been compiled on cards, now numbering several thousand. This list is supplemented with references to the *Official Bulletin*, published by the Government, to the daily press of Buffalo and other sources, with classified scrapbooks, and the collection of books, pamphlets, posters and maps. A copy of our casualty list was supplied to the City of Buffalo, for use in the war volume, which, it is announced, will be issued under municipal auspices, and edited by the City Clerk, Mr. Daniel J. Sweeney. On its issuance, if there appears to be need of further publication properly to record the participation of this community in the Great War or any phase of it, the Buffalo Historical Society will not lack material for such work.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

The usual lecture course has been provided for members and such non-members as have desired to avail themselves of opportunities here offered. The lectures for the past season were as follows:

- Jan. 14—Illustrated Lecture: "Ancestral England in City, Castle and Cathedral".....*Homer H. Kingsley*
 Jan. 28—Illustrated Lecture: "The Castle-bordered Rhine".....*Dr. Thos. E. Potterton*
 Feb. 11—Historical Address: "Personal Impressions of Lincoln".....*George Haven Putnam*
 Feb. 25—Illustrated Lecture: "Siam and the War".*Frederic Dean*
 Mar. 11—Illustrated Lecture: "Way Down South in Dixie".....*Dr. A. Eugene Bartlett*
 Mar. 25—Historical Address: "America and the Future"...*William J. Durant, Ph. D.*
 Nov. 4—Illustrated Address: "Theodore Roosevelt".....*William Webster Ellsworth*
 Nov. 18—Address: "Adventures in Altruism".....*Dr. Arthur J. Francis*
 Dec. 2—Address: "Yankees".....*Burges Johnson*
 Dec. 16—Illustrated Lecture: "The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World".....*Dr. Edgar J. Banks*

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES.

In May Mr. Henry R. Howland and the Secretary represented this Society at the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, in Philadelphia. At that meeting Mr. Howland completed a two-year term as President, and your Secretary was elected a member of the Council for two years.

The annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, held at Rochester in September, was attended by several of our members, including Hon. D. S. Alexander, who as President of the State Association, presided at its sessions; Miss Jane Meade Welch, who had a prominent part in the programme; and your Secretary, who was elected a Vice-President of the State organization.

In this connection it may properly be noted that Presi-

dent Alexander of the State Historical Association has named Dr. James Sullivan, the State Historian, Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia University, and Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society, a committee to co-operate with representatives of other societies and organizations, in proper observance of the Centenary anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers and other outstanding events in American history, the 300th anniversaries of which fall in 1920 and 1921. The various celebrations are to be carried out under the direction of an international organization known as the Sulgrave Institution. Hon. John A. Stewart is chairman of the Board of Governors of the American Branch Institution, with offices in the Woolworth Building, New York.

On August 16th, the 100th New York Volunteer Regiment Association held an anniversary meeting in the Historical Building, and presented to this Society certain regimental records of interest.

In December, Buffalo was represented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Cleveland, by Dr. Augustus H. Shearer of the Grosvenor Library and by the Secretary of this Society. Dr. Shearer who is also a member of this Society, was chairman of the annual conference of historical societies, at which your Secretary opened the discussion with a short address on "The Preservation of War Material."

Numerous other addresses were made by the Secretary during the year, including one before the Morgan Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association, at Rochester, December 19th. There have been, as usual, many talks to schools, and to classes visiting the building.

The neighborhood branch of the Red Cross, made up of women from Nye Park and vicinity, to whom in 1918, we had granted the use of a room in this building, continued to use it for the making of garments and hospital sup-

plies until May. Although it deprived us for a time of the use of our Board Room, the interests of the institution did not suffer, and it was a pleasure to extend help, even so slight as was in our power, to so worthy a cause.

The Secretary is also treasurer for the Society, but the routine duties of that office have been discharged, as in former years, by his assistant, Miss Helen F. Moffat, to whose helpfulness and constant devotion to the interests of this institution, it is a pleasure to testify.

The Secretary can but repeat what he has said many times before in these reports: That in every field of its endeavor, the Buffalo Historical Society seeks to be of practical help and of real use in the community.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,

Secretary.

On January 8 the Board of Managers re-elected the officers of the preceding year to serve during 1920.





BRONZE TABLET IN MEMORY OF ANDREW LANGDON. SET IN THE WALL OF THE LECTURE ROOM, IN THE HISTORICAL BUILDING.

In Memoriam

ANDREW LANGDON

*Resolutions adopted by the Board of Managers, Buffalo
Historical Society, December 4, 1919*

We, the members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, deeply feel the loss of our long-time friend and associate, Andrew Langdon, whose death occurred November 11, 1919.

Mr. Langdon became a member of this Society January 5, 1886, and a life member in 1887. In 1894 he was elected President, and he continued as the executive head of the Society until 1909, when at his own request, he retired from the active presidency; but was continued as Honorary President from that time until his death.

His term of service as President covered the most exacting and difficult period in the history of the Society. Early in his administration he realized that this institution should have a home of its own; and with the Hon. James M. Smith, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Dr. Joseph C. Greene and one or two other associates, he undertook to bring about the erection of a suitable building. The undertaking was in a fair way towards fruition, when the Pan-American Exposition project opened new opportunities, and the present home of the Society was secured. Established in the Historical Building, the Society became a public institution, with enlarged ac-

tivities and a new conception of its relation and duties to the community at large. Much of this expansion and growth may properly be ascribed to the impetus given to the organization under the presidency of Mr. Langdon.

The natural pride which was his in the fulfillment of his plans and hopes, and the great interest he took in the progress of the Society, were shown in many ways. He was indefatigable in securing new members, and he enriched the building with numerous gifts, of historic and artistic merit. The Board of Managers created a new class of membership, which it termed Patrons. The Hon. James M. Smith headed the list and Mr. Langdon's name followed. No other members have been thus designated.

Throughout his long term of service for the Historical Society, Mr. Langdon saw many changes in the personnel of this Board. Many of his earlier associates and co-workers passed from earth; but as new men were called to take their places the group held steadfast the memory and knowledge of what his efforts and enthusiasm had achieved for this Society; held unabated a high personal regard and sincere affection. So long as the Buffalo Historical Society shall endure, the memory of Andrew Langdon will not fade, nor shall the appreciation of what he did for the cause of historical scholarship, be lost from this community.

We, his associates in the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, direct that this expression of our respect, our appreciation and affection, be entered in the Minutes of the Society, and that a copy be transmitted to his family.

**MANUSCRIPTS
AND
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS**

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED

GEN. BROWN'S INSPECTION TOUR UP THE LAKES IN 1819

All who are familiar with the history of the Niagara region and the Great Lakes during the period of the War of 1812, are aware that General Jacob Brown bore a prominent and honorable part in the events of that time. In July, 1813, he was made brigadier-general in the regular army of the United States, and on Jan. 24, 1814, was assigned to the command of the Army of the Niagara, with the rank of major-general. He at once opened a vigorous campaign that was an unbroken list of victories. He captured Fort Erie, repulsed General Riall at Chipewewa on July 5, 1814, and came off at least with equal honors in the disputed engagement at Lundy's Lane, July 25th, and in the struggle at Fort Erie, where, in the engagement of September 17th, General Drummond was badly worsted. Congress gave to General Brown a vote of thanks and struck a medal in his honor. He continued to command the northern division of the army until March 10, 1821, when he was appointed general-in-chief of the United States army, which position he retained until his death, February 24, 1828.

The Buffalo Historical Society is the possessor of General Brown's sword, and of several letters written by him. His memory is cherished in the annals of this region, and should be kept green, for he was a man of blameless life, a true patriot, and was a competent soldier and leader at a time when the service of his country suffered from inexperience and incompetency.

In 1819, General Brown conducted an expedition of general observation, to the various military posts on the Lakes. A journal of the tour, kept by Captain Roger Jones, is preserved in the Library of Congress. It is believed never to have been published, and follows herewith, as copied by permission for the Buffalo Historical Society.

The *Ontario*, claimed (by Americans) to have been the first steamboat on the Lakes, was built at Sackett's Harbor in 1816, making her first trip in April, 1817. Major Gen. Jacob Brown and Captain M. T. Woolsey of the United States Army, were part owners but soon disposed of their interests. In 1832 the *Ontario* was broken up, at Oswego. Canadian writers claim priority for the *Frontenac*, built at Finkle's Point, near Kingston, in 1816, and put into service in 1817. From Buffalo westward the tour was by the *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first steamboat above Niagara Falls, built at Black Rock in 1818, and wrecked on the beach at Buffalo, Nov. 1, 1821.

MEMORANDA OF A MILITARY TOUR COMMENCED
AT BROWNSVILLE ON SUNDAY THE 30TH OF
MAY 1819, TO SEVERAL POSTS AND GARRI-
SONS ON THE WATERS OF THE WESTERN
LAKES.

May 30. It is a duty of every military commander, to be well acquainted with the country over which his authority, as such, is extended. A knowledge of the important points, along the border of the interior frontier, adjacent as many are to savage tribes, who for the most part are in some manner connected with, or influenced by, the English fur company, and Indian agents, can but be of great use and consequence.

The Government appear to appreciate this kind of

knowledge, as evidenced in the exploring expedition, under Major Long; and the fact that several of our regiments have been recently pushed far into the interior—to Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, St. Peter's, etc., fully demonstrate the propriety of those whose duty it is to order them there, to possess, at least, some knowledge of their location, as well as of the adjacent country. Hence, the spirit which induces a visit, by the Major General, commanding the Northern division of the Army, to this remote and great western region.

Brownsville, May 30. Desirous to pass some days along the Niagara Strait, and there to contemplate, at leisure, its sublime and wonderful cataract and the neighboring grounds, by War events rendered infinitely interesting to the American citizen and soldier, I anticipated, one week, the General's departure. I must own, and with just pleasure, that this forward movement was entirely on account of Mrs. Jones, who would in consequence, with much more satisfaction (because of more time), enjoy the scenery and the pleasures of the excursion.

Mrs. Gen. Brown and Mrs. Col. Wool accompanied us as far as Sackett's Harbor. We were hospitably entertained by Col. Brady, with whom we dined. We passed the night within the cantonment.

Those who were acquainted with this well-known place, during the war, can but be pleasantly surprised, to see it at present, so respectable a village. The principal street on either side is well paved, and the general appearance of the place vastly improved. The barracks, called Madison Barracks, are the best in the country, very spacious and built of durable materials. The whole military establishment exhibits a good deal of taste and much comfort. Here the remains of our valued fellow-soldier, Gen. Pike, are deposited; and of my two friends Capt. Nicholson, his

aide-de-camp, and Capt. Spencer, aide to Major Gen. Brown. The former was mortally wounded at York, the latter, at the Battle of Niagara.

Sacketts Harbor, May 31. We embarked on board the steamboat *Ontario* early in the morning, and at half past seven left the harbor. On leaving this beautiful basin, which is one of the finest and most spacious harbors I ever saw, I could but gaze with a sort of national melancholy, on the decayed and decaying hulks which [*illegible*] the shore, and which composed during our late struggle with Great Britain, the celebrated navy under Commodore Chauncey.

Whilst they present an awful monument of the wonderful folly of the time, they nevertheless exhibit a striking instance of the astonishing energy of American artists. Those ships were admirably built, and as to the dispatch with which they were constructed, it would appear almost incredible. It is a remarkable fact, too, from the little schooner called the *Lady of the Lake*, to the *Chippawa*, the great 120 gun ship, thro' the several classes, that they excel in dimension, in like denomination, every vessel in the world! Yet, strange to tell, the *Madison*, the first ship built *after* the war existed, was flat-bottomed. In less than 12 months, however, these waters, until then so little understood, bore on its [*sic*] bosom, *two triumphant fleets* composed of splendid vessels of every class.

At 2 p. m. we reached Oswego, which is prettily situated, upon the left bank of the river of the same name, and just within its mouth. Its chief article of commerce is salt, manufactured at Salina. Upwards of 40,000 barrels in one year has been shipped from the place. Ten or fifteen schooners belong to the port. It will probably continue to be a depot of some importance. Except a very few miles, boats navigate all the way to Albany, along the Oswego river, Oneida lake, Wood creek to

Rome, thence to Utica thro' the canal, connecting it with the Mohock.

At 6 p. m. we got under way and proceeded to Genesee river, distant 57 miles, which we entered the next morning as soon as it was light.

June 1. We debarked at 7 in the morning, at the landing-place four miles up the river, and having procured a stage—emphatically called stage *waggon*—proceeded to Rochester, three miles distant, where an excellent breakfast was served us. Here our travelling companion Miss Skinner, a relative of the Gen's who had accompanied us from his house, separated from us and continued her journey home.

The beauty and the splendor of the various scenery I have beheld, have been surpassed only by the unparalleled catarac [*sic*] of the wonderful Niagara. I had heard something of the Falls of Genesee, but more of the bridge at Carthage,¹ the principal object of the visit. On approaching this thriving village however what was my astonishment, when, unexpectedly, this brilliant waterfall bursted on the sight—dividing as it were the rich and impervious foliage which compass'd it! It is a bold representation of the fall of Niagara, and only second to it, and I must confess, the pleasure I experienced in beholding it, was at least equal to the gratification in seeing the other—perhaps Mary Ann's being with me. added new interest to scenes of this kind. The perpendicular pitch is 95 feet. The bridge alluded to, is certainly

¹ Carthage was on the east bank of the Genesee near the lower falls; its site is now a part of Rochester. The famous bridge at that point, built in 1819, was a wooden single arch, "the chord of which was over 352 feet, the entire length of the bridge resting upon this being 718 feet, 30 feet in width and the roadway 196 feet above the surface of the water. Its span was longer than that of any other bridge in the world at the time, and though it was built in less than nine months, its strength had been so carefully tested that it was expected to last for ages, but there was fault in its construction, for in a year and three months it was destroyed by the springing upward of the arch. It was succeeded immediately by a bridge built on piers a little further down the river, and that by still another, which stood till 1835."—"Landmarks of Monroe Co., N. Y.," p. 73.

a splendid specimen of American ingenuity. I will state its dimensions, the best commentary on it: from one end to the other, 714 feet; from the hand railing to the surface of the river beneath, 200—and the whole fabric is sustained by *one great arch*, whose cord [*sic*] is 352 feet!!

The river from this bridge is indescribably fine. Looking up the river, about 200 yards, the scenery is at once picturesque and sublime; the water tumbles over a precipice 75 feet high, but instead of an excavation from its summit, as at Niagara and Genessee, the rocks are rather projecting, which in some degree break the perpendicular precipitancy of the water—and overspread by trees of the richest verdure, only increases the interest of the scene. At the same glance of the eye, some distance above this principal cataract, several others of much less magnitude, are seen, all of which contribute to render the more delightful, this enchanting spot.

The most remarkable circumstance in contemplating this splendid scene of nature, is, that all you behold, is seen from this stupendous bridge, itself 100 and 60 or 70 feet higher than the surface where the first break is made. Thus the work of man, if I may so say, seems to vie, with the works of nature.

At 2 p. m. we re-embarked, and directed our course for Fort Niagara, distant 70 miles.

(In my remarks of yesterday I entirely forgot to mention the old fortifications at Oswego, on both sides of the river, formerly erected by the French and English. The one on the right bank is the least demolished, and it is an entire ruin[!] It was here my friend Col. Mitchell of the artillery distinguished himself in an action with the English during the late war. He kept at bay for three days the whole British fleet under Sir James Yeo. At length, on the 5th of May, 1814, a landing was effected and after a gallant resistance by our little band of heroes, not ex-

ceeding 300 men, the American commander was compelled to retire to the falls of Oswego. Lt. Gen. Drummond commanded the British forces and sustained a great loss; he numbered nearly 3,000.)

Fort Niagara, Wednesday, June 2. We left the steamboat at 10 o'clock in the morning and immediately entered the fort. Capt. Gates the commandant was absent, but we were hospitably received by the gentlemen of the garrison; we dined with Mrs. Gates, who was very kind [and] attentive to Mary Ann.

The fort hitherto has been considered as a very important point; from its situation however 'tis no longer so regarded. Three years ago a great sea-wall was commenced, which has cost much money. The work is stop'd and probably will never be resumed. We crossed the Niagara river, at sunset, and slept at New-Ark, a considerable village on the British side.

New-Ark, U. C., Thursday, June 3. This town is now called Niagara. It was entirely destroyed in the fall of 1813 by one Genl. McClure of the militia. It is now rebuilt; and has a pretty appearance, situated as it is on [an] extensive plain, which extends in one direction to the river and in a nother [*sic*] to the lake. The water prospect is very delightful, and the whole surface of the lake is in full view. This place and all the adjacent ground is very familiar to me. The 27th of May, 1813, our army under Major Gen. Dearborn, crossed from the American side, in three Divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Boyd, Winder and Chandler, and met the enemy on the water's edge. The attack was gallantly resisted—we soon however gained the day and soon found ourselves in quite [quiet?] possession of Fort George and its dependencies. Col. Scott of Art'ry (now Major Gen. Scott) commanded the advance and chiefly sustained the conflict.

After breakfast, we pursued our journey to the falls of Niagara, distant 16 miles. Before leaving the village, however, Lt. Dix (one of the Gen's aides who left Brownsville with me) and myself called on the British commandment, Lt. Col. Grant of the 77th Regt. We were very politely received, and after sitting a few minutes returned to the carriage, accompanied by the Scotch Colonel, where we had left Mary Ann under the protection of Dr. Livingston of the American Army. The Col. prevailed on her to alight, and gallantly escorted her to the parade ground, just in season to behold the "turning off" of the Guards. Mary Ann, never having seen British soldiers before, was well pleased with what she saw. The band was ordered to play for our amusement—the music was excellent.

Nothing can be more pleasant than the road we are now traveling; it follows the meanders of the Niagara river, as far as Queenston, which is situated 7 miles from its mouth, being the head of navigation. The prospect from the heights cannot be surpassed; the valley extending some miles toward St. Davids, and the whole intermediate country to the lake shore, affords the richest scenery. I easily identified all our encamping grounds, and the very spot where my marquee was pitched the 24th of July, 1814. From this place, Fort Niagara is distinctly seen—and the bold Niagara, smooth but rapid in its course, until it empties into Lake Ontario. The great elevation of this position, more than 300 feet higher than the water, enables the spectator to behold a vast extent of country—and all beneath, on the left bank, being well cultivated, the whole face of nature is softened into a beautiful and picturesque landscape. Lewistown, over against Queenstown, appears to be a thriving village. It was conflagrated during the war. We reached the cataract in season for dinner, before which, however, we

obtained a hasty view of this wonderful waterfall. We again visited it in the afternoon. The brilliancy of the sun favored the visit. The Table rock, in my opinion, presents the fairest view—'twas here, Mary Ann and myself contemplated together, and with infinite satisfaction, the sublime Niagara.

Niagara Falls, Friday, June 4th. We have determined to pass all this day in this neighborhood. Dr. Livingston, Lt. Dix and myself, crossed to the American shore, in a little skiff, *just below the pitch*. The boat was propelled by one person, and so near did we approach the fall, that the mist immediately penetrated our clothing. The current is rapid but not dangerous. The assemblage of buildings on this side, is called Manchester. Judge Porter is the chief proprietor. He has constructed a bridge from the main to Goat Island, in the midst of, and dividing the rapids. The lower end of this island which contains 70 acres is terminated by the great precipice, which on either side constitute the "Great falls of Niagara." We passed around the island—the land is fertile. Several admirable views are to be had from it. The American and British commissioners, Gen. Porter and Col. Ogilvie, had their marquee pitched on this romantic spot.

Here our young and pleasant companion (Dr. Livingston) left us for Fort Niagara, and Lieut. Dix and myself recrossed the Niagara, which requires about 10 minutes' time. The banks are rugged, steep, and difficult to descend or ascend, so much so as to render it dangerous for ladies to undertake the excursion, therefore Mary Ann remained on the Canadian side until our return.

It was immediately in this vicinity that one of the severest conflicts took place during the late war. I mean the celebrated "battle of Niagara" called by the British "Lundy's Lane," and as some will have it "Bridge-Water."

In the evening we walked over this sacred ground and with a pleasing tho' melancholy satisfaction I pointed out the relative positions of the contending armies, and all the incidents, as well as I could remember, that occurred during the action. The adjacent trees and houses, still wear the mark of cannon and musket balls. I have already given an account of this battle in my "Sketch of the campaign on the Niagara frontier in 1814."

Saturday, June 5th. Having sojourned two days at the Falls, we this morning departed for Buffaloe, where we arrived before dinner. The day was brilliant and additional lustre was imparted to the richness of the surrounding scenery. The road, like the one from Fort George to Queenston, winds along the margin of the river, which immediately after leaving the Great Cataract, conducts the traveller, almost to the water's edge, whence even sitting in his carriage is presented one of the finest views of the rapids. The river here is a beautiful sheet of water and I imagine to Slaucher,² on the opposite shore, must be a mile and a half or two miles over: peaceful and tranquil in its course, as seen a little farther up, one would hardly think it possible the same current could be so suddenly changed into a turbulent and roaring flood.

Two miles on the way is the village of Chippaway, which is situated on a creek of the same name, at its confluence with the Niagara. It was here the American army was encamped and whence it marched into action the 25th of July, 1814. Three quarters of a mile farther on, and we approached the plain, where was fought the battle of Chippaway, July 5th. Our army was posted on the south side of Street's creek, with its right contiguous to the river; it had therefore to march across the bridge, just at its mouth, to engage the enemy. The contest resulted in a decided victory to the American arms.

² Schlosser's.

The road all the way to Fort Erie is very excellent and the fertile fields on the one side and the river on the other, occasionally swelled into extensive bays, interspersed with islands, renders the whole of the excursion as pleasant and delightful as possible. We crossed over to Black Rock, and thence into Buffalo.

Buffalo, Sunday, June 6. This village is pleasantly situated near to, and in full view of, Lake Erie. Every house was burnt by the British in 1813, but it is now rebuilt, and I should judge, tho' expensive still, of many of the dwellings, much beyond the just means of the occupants. It has three denominations of Christians, but without churches except a plain Methodist meeting-house. A handsome unfinished Court [house], a beautiful bank, perhaps without capital or credit, and a substantial goail [!] constitute its public edifices. The harbor is very indifferent, formed by Buffalo Creek—beyond is the open lake.

This morning Mary Ann and myself heard an excellent sermon at the Episcopal Church³: "*The secret of the Lord is among them that fear Him*"—25th Psalm, 13th verse, was the text.

Monday, June 7th. Tuesday, June 8th. Nothing has occurred on those days worthy of observation. The weather is unsettled—severe thunder storms, alternate showers and sunshine.

Wednesday, June 10th. Mary Ann and myself were hospitably and elegantly entertained by Gen. and Mrs. Porter, with whom we dined. His mansion is handsomely situated, immediately on the Niagara, in full view of the ruin of Fort Erie, and the adjacent fields. These grounds, during the campaign of 1814, were the theater

³ Our writer contradicts himself, having just said that the Methodist meeting-house was the only one in Buffalo. That house of worship was dedicated Jan. 24, 1819. The corner-stone of the first St. Paul's Episcopal Church was laid June 24, 1819, 18 days after Capt. Jones says he attended service there! He probably wrote "Episcopal" inadvertently for "Methodist Episcopal."

of many important military incidents. It was from this place (Black Rock) that Brigadier General Alexander Smyth in 1812 unsuccessfully attempted the invasion of Canada.

Gen. Brown and Lt. Kirby arrived today, and also dined with our old companion in arms.

Buffaloe, Friday, June 11th. Still in *Buffaloe*. The steamboat remaining one day longer in port, I availed myself of the opportunity once more to visit the American encampment at Fort Erie in the summer of 1814. Accompanied by Lieuts. Dix and Whiting, Major Dellafield and Mr. Brackenridge, we crossed immediately over to the position. We examined the field works of both armies, some of which are demolished, whilst others are quite in a perfect state. The surrounding wood still bears evidence of the duration and severity of the cannonade, by the destruction, yet visible, of some of the largest forest trees. In some instances they are as entirely prostrated by cannon-shot, as tho' they had yielded to the hand of the axman.

The particulars of Erie twice beseiged, and of the two battles that were fought there, are narrated in my "Sketch of the Siege of Erie."

Saturday, June 12. Having remained just one week at *Buffaloe*, which like all the places I've ever seen in all this section of the country is void of hospitality we gladly embarked at five o'clock, on board the *Walk-in-the-Water*, for Detroit.

Sunday, June 13th. We reached Erie early this morning, where several passengers embarked, among whom were two of my old Naval acquaintances, Capt. Deacon, the commandant on the lake, and Mr. Cass. The day was pleasant, and the wind fair, so we prosperously continued our voyage. Before sunset we reached Grand River,

distant — miles. Two miles from its mouth is a village called Painsville.

Monday, June 14th. Cunningham Island in sight. At 11 a. m. reached Put-in-Bay Harbor, celebrated for the rendezvous of Captain Perry's victorious fleet. The scene of action was in the Bay, a little further on towards the head of the Lake. The cluster of islands of the same name, affords an excellent and commodious port; here we "came to," and whilst the crew were replenishing their stock of fuel, the passengers availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the remarkable cave found on the island. The aperture thro' which we enter into this great vaulted chamber of nature, is low and narrow; presently however, the difficulty is surmounted and we find ourselves in a spacious hall. Its ceiling is lofty and studded with innumerable petrefactions, and the light of our tapers, reflecting upon these crystalized particles, had a beautiful and brilliant appearance. Several ladies ventured along with us; vocal and instrumental music had an admirable effect.

At 2 p. m. the party re-embarked and the vessel put in motion. We passed several beautiful islands, among which is one called the Middle Sister, where Gen. Harrison's army assembled, before his descent into Canada. A little after sunset we reach'd the mouth of Detroit river, and about 9 o'clock came to anchor off Malden.

Tuesday, June 15. We reach'd Detroit, at ½ past 0 [*sic*] in the morning, and after breakfast, visited the Post, inspected the troops, and dined with Major Gen. Macomb. The Governor and several others were also of the party. I met with several old acquaintances, among whom was Major Biddle, who had been one of my Lieutenants when I commanded a company [at] the beginning of the war. I passed the evening with him, and Mary Ann, who had been waited on by Mrs. Biddle, in the

morning was kindly solicited to sojourn with her, until my return from the Western lakes.

Wednesday, June 16. At sunrise we got under way for Michilimackinac, and after passing the river five or six miles, entered on Lake St. Clair, which is a handsome expanse of water, but of little depth. We soon reached the mouth of the river of the same name, which connects it with Lake Huron. This is really a beautiful river and the scenery rich and lovely. Occasionally for a mile or two in extent tolerably good settlements are to be seen; but the population is very inconsiderable. On the Canadian side, we passed several Indian locations, who together with the white people on either shore could but be amazed on beholding for the first time in their lives, a steam boat. It is very probable, if these inhabitants had ever heard of vessels of this description, they did not believe there were such.

About 5 p. m. we came to anchor a mile and half below Fort Gratiot [Gratiot] 70 [miles] from Detroit. It is situated at the outlet of Huron lake and the beginning of St. Clair river and — miles distant from Michilimackinac. The Gen. and suit debarked, and visited the Post. He was received with a salute according to his rank. Lieut. Mellan of the Corps of Artillery commands. We embarked again in season for supper, after which the ladies and gentlemen amused themselves either in dancing, playing chess, or beggarman, or whatever happened to be passing.

Thursday, June 17th. At day-light, the anchor was wayed, and we again steered for the island of Machina. We were detained one night, in order to procure more fuel, requisite for the voyage.

Having passed the Fort, we find ourselves on the broad Lake, and still blessed with fair and pleasant weather. We are now at meridian, with all sail set, and not a wave

to rudely dash against the bark gaily progressing at the rate of eight knot a hour. The wind continued fair during the day, and increased as the evening advanced. Just before sunset it became cloudy, and the atmosphere indicated an approaching storm. The appearance however was soon dissipated and nothing remarkable occurred, except an instantaneous and very sultry blast of wind from the northwestern shore of the lake. (Reflections by and bye.)

Friday, June 18. The morning pleasant, but wind ahead—the company however in excellent spirits, and amusing themselves in a variety of ways. As the day advances the wind increases. It continues fresh and strong, and almost a gail.

4 p. m. Heavy sea and blowing heavy; scarcely exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ knots. Came to anchor under the island of bois-blanc, 24 miles from Machinac. The lee side of the island is smooth, and afforded an excellent harbor.

Saturday, June 19. At sunrise weighed anchor and reached the Island of Machilimackinac at 9 o'clock. The appearance of the Fort, 150 feet above the water's level, had a beautiful effect on approaching the harbor. The Major Gen. and suite landed at 10. Inspected the garrison at 12 and at 1 o'clock reviewed the troops on the plain adjacent to the village below. The ladies and gentlemen who arrived in the steamboat and all the citizens and Indians of the village, witnessed the spectacle. They manoeuvred in Battalion flanked by artillery, to the perfect satisfaction of the General. The firings were admirable, and the spirit and precision with which the various evolutions were performed, evince the high state of discipline of the troops, and reflects the greatest credit, on all the officers, especially Capt. Pearce, who until the arrival a few days since of Lt. Col. Lawrence, has been the commanding officer of the place.

The duties of the day having passed, at 4 we all re-embarked and partook of an excellent dinner, on board, to which the officers of the garrison had been invited, by the Major General.

Sunday, June 20. After a cloudy, rainy morning, we were favored with a delightful day toward meridian. The usual garrison inspection took place at 11, to which all the strangers were invited. I never saw better interior police any where, and I have rarely met with as good. The rooms are tastefully and comfortably fitted up, and all the utensils, brilliantly clean and handsomely arranged—the appearance of the men highly soldierly and healthful. In short, every thing that I saw, indicated method, and an excellent state of police and discipline. The strangers were delighted with what they saw, and until then, they said, they had no idea of the comforts attainable in a soldier's life.

The garrison consists of one company of artillery, Capt. Pierce, and two of the 2d regiment, commanded by Capt. Green and Lt. Curtis, all of whom are married gentlemen. The Gen. and suite dined with the commanding officers. Mary Ann and myself accepted Captain Pearce's polite invitation, who offered me a room in his quarters.

In the forenoon we visited Fort Holms, situated on the summit of the highest point of land, on the island, and little better than $\frac{1}{4}$ m. in the rear of Fort Machinac, which it completely commands. It is 312 feet higher than the water. I never have seen a finer water prospect, either for extent or variety of natural scenery. The whole extent of the island is compassed at one view, and at the same glance, toward the right, is distinctly seen Lake Michigan, whilst on the left is embraced the now placid surface of Huron. The waters immediately dashing round the base of the island (not more than 8 or nine miles in circumference) are beautifully interspersed

with islands of different magnitude, which add greatly to the picturesque scenery afforded from this position.

The next object of our curiosity was the Arch Rock, on the eastern boundary of the island. Here the bank is very abrupt, and probably 100 feet high. The Arch appears to have been formed by the action of the water at the base of this great cliff composed for the most part of limestone, now in a decaying state. The abutments, nearest to the lake, which sustain this arch, being, I suppose, of harder material, resisted the encroachment of the waves.

Monday, June 21. Still at Machinac, and blessed with heavenly weather. The climate is remarkably salubrious, but a great deal too cool for comfort or vegetation. The apple-trees the day of our arrival, were just in full bloom, and fires at night vastly comfortable. June here reminds me of October in Virginia. White-fish and trout are greatly celebrated here, and they can be caught at all seasons of the year.

At 12 o'clock, the steamboat was thronged with the citizens of the village, and many Indians, who had been invited to make a little excursion, previous to its departure for Detroit. The scene was altogether novel: on one side of the deck, ladies and gentlemen were gaily leading down country dances, and on the other side, the painted, fantastic Indians, decked in all their tinsel and savage costume, were equally happy, whilst they enjoyed their native dance.

Ever and anon, a half-concealed, half-naked, tawney thygh,
Was half uncovered, to white woman's lowering eye.

After a few hours thus pleasantly passed, the boat returned to port. I dined on board, and now for the first time I was constrained to part with my beloved wife. The signal was given—I left her in tears, and sad and

sorrowful enough, bade a dieu to the bark, that wafted from my sight, my soul's chief comfort. I followed in an Indian canoe, manned with 14 hands, and for a little while kept way with the vessel. I saw my darling Mary Ann, sitting on deck—again bade her a dieu, and returned to the shoer.

In the evening, I accompanied the Gen. on horseback, to the north end of the Island, and visited the ground where Col. Croghan engaged the English and Indians in 1814. 'Twas here the gallant Holms fell, lamented by all who knew him.

Machinac, Tuesday, June 22. At 11 o'clock we embarked on board the Revenue Cutter commanded by Capt. Knapp of the Navy, bound to Sous de St. Mary and Lake Superior. The day is brilliant and the little breeze we have, perfectly fair. With all sail set we are now at midday smoothly moving at the rate of 4 miles an hour.

3 p. m. The breeze freshes and probably we [are] going 7 miles. Half an hour before sunset, we entered the mouth of St. Mary's river, leaving on our right Drummond's Island, where the English have a military and Indian Post. At 9 p. m. the vessel was brought to anchor.

Wednesday, June 23d. Got under way early in the morning, with a very light wind. Toward noon, the breeze freshened, and we handsomely pursued our course, except occasionally getting a ground, which we cared but little about. After sailing probably 27 miles we came to anchor, perhaps by an hour by sun. The Gen., myself and other officers for sake of some exercise, manned the boats, and seeing several small islands, some little distance a head, made for them. To our great surprise, on approaching them we discovered little or no depth of water, and very considerable rapids. After rowing backwards and forwards, we clearly perceived that this was no ship channel, and that the person who pre-

tended to pilot the vessel, knew nothing of these waters—and then we returned to the vessel.

Thursday, June 24. Agreeably to the determination of last evening, we rose early in the morning, at 5 o'clock left the cutter, with expectation of finding the Saut in our boats. With some little difficulty we ascended the rapids above spoken of, and continued our voyage, until within two miles of our port, when a nother obstruction, in the way of rapids, was to be surmounted. At 2 p. m. we arrived and pitched our tents. Mr. Johnson, an Irish gentleman, resides here, and is well known to every American who visits this place for his politeness, urbanity of manners, and genuine hospitality. We dined and supped with him. A few hours after our arrival, we walked to the upper end of [the] portage, nearly a mile distant, which is the point where the outlet of Lake Superior begins. Here we saw the lake, and the southern bound of ship navigation. A British schooner was at anchor on the opposite side and perhaps is the only vessel belonging to this water: the broad lake is 15 miles off.

Having a curiosity to descend the rapids, an Indian bark canoe was ordered up, in which the Gen., Col. Smith and myself embarked: we glided most rapidly and pleasantly over this troubled surface, in six minutes, a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile or more, in which there is a descent of 20 feet 8 inches. The water here is one continuous foam, violently rushing over a rocky bed, but such is the dexterity of these Canadian and Indian boatmen, that they with perfect ease, evaded every danger, and steered clear of every rock.

Whilst we were enjoying ourselves in conversation, after tea had been served, an aged Frenchman entered the room, and being introduced to the Gen., proceeded in his own language to unfold to Mr. Johnson, the object of his visit. What was the astonishment of our party, when

we were informed, in a most impressive and earnest manner, by our hosts, that the Indians, of the Chippawa tribe, who in some number encamped near the house, "had determined to attack, that night, the American officers whilst sleeping in the tents." It was difficult for the General to believe, or the officers to believe, that these creatures, savage, as they are, could possibly be guilty of so black a deed. Their conduct however, as represented to us, by one [or] two Americans, who knew them well, by reason of their connection in trade (and marriage too) for a few days past, as well as from Mr. Johnson and his intelligent son, induced me, and the other gentlemen, to believe such an attempt by no means impossible. We were without arms—even those denominated side arms; the Gen. therefore, believed it best to send for the chiefs, and plainly tell them, what he heard. He did so, and confiding in their faith, sought repose in his tent—whilst the young gentlemen of his staff, from, in my opinion, wisely prudential reasons, kept watch, and with one or two fowling pieces, furnished by Mr. Johnson, caused a sort of guard to be mounted.

Sault de St Marie, June 25th Friday. We rose in the morning *neither scalped nor tomahawked*—but my opinion as to the disposition of these savages and as to the possibility or probability in the madness of intoxication of attempting so diabolical an act is by no means altered.

After breakfasting, and surveying the adjacent grounds, best fitted for the talked-of fortifications, we struck our tents and made the best of our way to the cutter, which we reached at 2 o'clock. We immediately weighed anchor and presently, favored with a breeze, we sailed smoothly along, passing at sunset St. Joseph's on the Canadian side, and a little after dark, came to under Drummond's island, at the mouth of the river.

Saturday, June 26th. Got under-way, stretched out in

the lake, and found a strong head wind to contend with. At 1 p. m. wind still strong, and not making a great deal of headway, found a snug harbor behind a little island near the land. Here we abided the evening and night.

Sunday, June 27. Got under way with a light breeze ahead, continued beating to windward. At 2 p. m. the Gen. & Col. Smith left us in the row boat for Fort Michilimackinac, supposed to be 16 miles distant. At 9 p. m. a heavy squall struck us and the lake soon became troubled.

Monday, June 28th. The Fort about 8 or 10 miles off, and a very light head wind. Capt. Pierce perceiving we made but little progress toward the post, had the goodness to send off his barge for us which we gladly accepted and bade a due to Capt. Knapp and his brother. At 11 o'clock we landed and being once more refreshed, pleasantly passed the day and night.

Thus in 7 days we accomplished our excursion to Lake Superior and back again.

Tuesday June 29. Pleasant, delightful morning and some prospect of a fair wind. At 10 o'clock, the Gen. and suite, Col. Smith and family, embarked on board the schooner *Tiger*, for Green bay, supposed to be 200 miles off. Almost a calm. After meridian we had a pleasant favoring breeze, but the weather became squally and unsettled toward night.

Wednesday June 30th. Clear weather, with a strong breeze; passed beever island in the night, and Fox island early in the morning, which is called 40 miles from louse island at the entrance of the water called Green Bay, and just half the distance to Fort Howard. At 10 every thing indicated a speedy and sure passage—but on approaching this last island named the wind so increased and altered, as to render very doubtful our gaining the

Bay. 2 p. m. Blowing quite a gale and heavy sea running and the wind ahead. Put about, to make a harbor under the lee of the Manitou, or Devil's island, distant 40 miles, which was performed in less than five hours.

Thursday July 1st. At anchor, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the island, & smooth water. We found the *Jackson* here, who like ourselves had three days before in consequence of adverse winds sought a place of safety. The wind favoring her, she got under way, for Detroit. I availed myself of the opportunity and wrote to Mary Ann. We all debarked for the sake of exercise and wandered about the island, nearly all day. A few good strawberries were found, which were acceptable to every body. The island is supposed to be between 3 and 400 feet above the lake, and for the most part is one great mountain of sand, barren and desolate, in the extreme. The weather, towards evening, rainy and disagreeable. At sunset, got under way, with the hope of a fair wind.

Friday July 2d. The morning is pleasant, but still an adverse wind; the Devils Island still in sight, and but little gained to windward, at meridian—Light, variable winds—and but little gained to day.

Saturday July 3d. Entered the Bay this morning and a head wind. Cloudy, rainy, cold, raw, disagreeable weather—and no prospect of fairer. A surtout coat is not enough to make one comfortable. I would not live any where in this lake region for all the country bordering it.

Sunday July 4th. Light contrary winds, still prevailing. The first national birthday I ever passed without a celebration and appropriate manifestation of joy. No salute to startle the memory on revolutionary glory; no convivial meeting of friends to pass away the day in songs; nothing of patriotism to awaken the sentiment of

liberty. On the contrary, cheerless and uncomfortable, with unpropitious winds are we striving to reach Fort Howard.

Monday, July 5th. Still a head breeze and blowing very fresh. About 3 O'clock we made the port, and came to anchor at the mouth of the River, nearly 3 miles from the Fort. At 4 we reached shore and a national salute was fired.

Tuesday, July 6th. Having been politely received by Capt. Whistler and the other officers, the Gen. deferred the review and inspection of the troops until the afternoon. In the mean time, horses having been furnished and accompanied by Capt. Garland, we crossed the river for the purpose of viewing the adjacent country. Six or seven miles along the river, on either side, embraces all the population and cultivation in this section of country. The lands are fertile and beautifully situated for farming, and gradually rise from the waters edge. The first rapid is 6 miles, which terminated our ride, and the settlement on Fox river. The number of inhabitants are probably from 300 to 350. They, for the most part, are degenerate french canadians, who have intermarried with the Indians and therefore greatly devoid of any thing like civil enterprise and domestic comfort. The climate is not objectionable and I am certain, with a race of people like the New England farmers, the settlement on Fox river, in a very little time, could be rendered desirable and pleasant as any section of territory so remote from the interior could reasonably be expected. The soil is warm and more congenial than that of Detroit; vegetation is rapid & luxuriant and all kind of vines grow well —We'd peas on the 7th. The Latitude is probably $44\frac{1}{2}$. At 5 p. m. the General reviewed the troops and inspected the quarters. They were in fine soldierly condition. Fort Howard is miserably situated 3 miles from the mouth of

the river, on a low sandy soil. A mile and a half above, on the opposite shore, would have afforded a lofty, eligible position.

Wednesday July 7th. Pleasant weather and still at Fort Howard.

Thursday July 8. The Gen. and suite, having bid adieu to the officers of the garrison, embarked at 8 in the morning for Machinac with a light favoring breeze. At 1 it sprang up fresh and fair & at 11 p. m. cleared louse island reckoned 90 or 100 miles from the head of the Bay; we are now on lake Michigan. The wind has been highly favoring. We have sailed at the rate of 8, 9, 10 and nearly 11 knots, for the last 9 hours.

Friday July 9. Pleasant weather and a prosperous breeze. After a delightful passage of less than 35 hours, we came to anchor at Mackinaw.

Saturday July 10. Not being blessed with a favoring breeze this morning we consented to remain till evening, and in the mean time accepted Capt. Green's polite invitation to dinner. We were quite delighted once more to return to our Machinaw friends, and after pleasantly passing the day bade them a final adieu. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 on the signal being given from our vessel, that she was ready. Our friend Capt. Pierce, joined us for Detroit. The wind freshened and we had every prospect of being blessed with a speedy voyage.

Sunday July 11. Clear serene morning—and off Thunder Island. Pleasant breeze, but scarcely able to lay our course. On the approach of night, strong indications of bad weather. Much lightning in the S.W. and more rain than wind during the night.

Monday July 12. Pleasant weather and a light air. About 7 o'clock the breeze freshened and became perfectly fair. All sail being set, we are now at 10 advancing at the rate of 9 & 10 knots an hour: Passed Fort Gratiote

between 3 and 4: reached lake St.Clair 3 hours & a half after, distant 45 or 50 miles! The very strong current in St.Clair river, added to the highly favoring wind, accounts for this great velocity in sailing.

About 12 at night, to my great satisfaction, and to the astonishment of us all, we reached Detroit, having in 8 hours and 10 minutes passed from the out-let of Huron lake, always counted 75 or 80 miles!!

Tuesday July 13. I immediately debarked and sought my beloved Mary Ann, from whom I had just been three weeks separated and had the extreme pleasure of finding her in perfect health and much delighted with her sojourn at my friend's Major Biddle's house. This happened to be the day fixed on by Gen. Macomb, to make an excursion to hog island, 3 miles up the river, where bowers and tents, and all things requisite being previously prepared, the ladies and gentlemen assembled at 1 o'clock and with great animation passed away the day, in the full spirit of rural felicity. An excellent repast was prepared, fruit and [*Ms. defective*] to us (who had for some [*Ms. defective*] had been exposed to a [*defective*] and confined boats) were very greatful. In the evening, country dances and cotillions were performed on the grass, very good music having been furnished from the military.

At sunset we all embarked in three boats and pleasantly glided down the river with banners waving and martial music sounding.

Wednesday July 14. Charming weather and much delighted with Detroit and the adjacent country. At 12 the Generals reviewed the troops and inspected the Post. We are with the hospitable Major Biddle; Governor Cass was one of the party. This evening boat arrived.

Thursday July 15. At 12 we embarked on board the *Walk-in-the-Water* for Buffalo, leaving behind us some friends and several pleasant acquaintances. Mary Ann

and myself parted with Major and Mrs. Biddle, with much regret, esteeming them as excellent, hospitable and sincere friends.

The weather is very pleasant and the scenery down the river beautiful and interesting. We successively passed Sandwich, Malden, the Sister Islands, Put-in-Bay and Cunningham's Island—the latter between 9 and 10 p. m.

Friday July 16. Very pleasant weather; early in the morning passed Cleveland and about 11 Grand River and at 9 o'clock arrived off Erie.

Saturday July 17. Pleasant, delightful weather. At 12 hove in sight of Buffaloe which seen as it is approaching it by water, is greatly magnified and appears remarkably well. At 2 p. m. we arrived at Black rock and bade adieu to the *Walk-in-the-Water*. Mary Ann and myself promised the elegant and hospitable Mrs. Gen. Porter to abide with her as long as we should remain in that Quarter, on our return. She however was absent and after a little refreshment and rest we quitted the General's generous mansion and sought lodgings in Buffaloe.

The celerity with which we have performed this extensive military tour is unparalleled—certainly so far as the navigation of these internal seas are concerned.

I will here subjoin a table of distance actually travelled, and then state the time which they were compassed:

From Brownsville to Sacketts Harbor 8 miles, Oswego 50, Genasee landing 61, to Rochester and back 6, thence to Niagara 94—making to Fort Niagara—via steam boat, (the direct distance would be 180). . .⁴

From Fort Niagara or Fort George to Queenston 8 miles, to the Falls 8, to Buffaloe 21. . .

From Brownsville to Buffalo via the lake. . .

From Buffaloe to Erie 96 miles, to Grand River 75, To

⁴ No figures in manuscript,

Cleveland 30, Cunningham's Island 50. The mouth of Detroit River 37, to Detroit 21 miles. . .

Making from Buffaloe via steam boat to Detroit. . .

From Detroit to Fort Gratiote is 75 miles—to Michilimackinac 275. . .

Making the distance from one to the other . . .

From Machinac to the Saut of St. Marie (L. Superior outlet) is . . .

From Machinac to Fort Howard (Green Bay) is . .

Making the while distance as travelled. . .

(double this

Add 65 miles, being about the difference in travelling fr Buffaloe to Brownville by land & by water

Making the whole no of miles. . . 2,543.

I have observed we left Fort Howard on Thursday the 8th inst. We embarked after breakfast with a very light breeze and light as it was it was still less before we were without the mouth of the river, so that at 10 o'clock we had not progressed more than 7 miles. At that moment the wind sprang up fresh and fair. The next evening we reached Michilimackinac, where we remained till the next, when at 4 p. m. we re-embarked for Detroit, where we safely arrived at 12 o'clock, on Monday night. The whole distance was performed with extraordinary rapidity, but the last 75 miles with very uncommon celerity, to-wit, 8 hours and a half; and of which the first 45 (from fort Gratiote to the entrance into lake St. Clair) was performed in 3 hours and a half.

Thus in 8 days and a half we reach Buffaloe from Green Bay 893 [miles], having stayed a day and night at Michilimackinac and two days and a half at Detroit, so that we passed but five nights on the water in performing the whole distance.

July 18th. Early in the morning we left and having travelled all day slept at [*illegible*] Bridge, the village is

called Avon. In [the] morning at an early hour [we] resumed our journey to Utica.

Scarcely any section of the state surpasses the one we are now travelling [in] fertility and beauty of scenery; the whole [ex]tent, nearly 200 miles, beginning at Buffaloe exhibits quite a phenomanon in the unparalled rapidity with which it [has] been settled and improved. Batavia [is] the first villiage after leaving Williamsville 4 miles from Buffaloe—it is quite respectable and appears to be improving. From this place innumerable villages garnish the highway almost the whole distance and so numerous are the farms and so neet the stile of buildings in general that to the [eye] of the stranger it has all the appearance [of] one continued chain of villages.

We breakfasted at west Bloomfield—and nothing can be more luxuriant that the rich fields of wheat, beautifully waving their golden heads, on every side you cast your eye. This is what is called “the Genesee country” so greatly extolled every where. East Bloomfield is a pretty village, as is the other, and located as most of the villages are on pleasant sites, amid undulating grounds, and in view of cultivated lands and distant survey presents the richest landscapes imaginable.

Canandagua, a large villege, is handsomely situated on a gradual slope, near to and in sight of one of those beautiful lakes so often met with on this route. The stile of building is remarkably handsome and in some instances quite elegant. For the most part, the houses are all upon one street, perhaps a mile in extent, one or two having establishments and several handsome churches with lofty steeples add greatly to the appearance of the place. The dwelling houses are generally retired from the street, so that in front of each are very tasty courts, neatly arranged and fashioned, which greatly add to the beauty and uniformity of the village.

We passed on to Geneva where we dined. This is a lovely place, situated as tho' by enchantment, in the form of amphitheatre, on the lake of the same name, whose banks regularly and beautifully rise from the waters edge. I think I have never seen so enchanting a scenery as this, the blue face of the water seemed to smile as if conscious of its reflected charms.

SERVICE OF CAPT. SAMUEL D. HARRIS

*Sketch of His Military Career as Captain in the Second
Regiment of Light Dragoons, during the
War of 1812*

The original manuscript from which the following memoir is printed, recently came into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. It is not known to have been published, and is here printed as written. A sketch of the writer, Captain Samuel Devens Harris, and an appreciation of his services, are contained in a letter from Gen. E. P. Gaines to the War Department, which is printed at the close of the memoir. These documents are submitted as of some worth in the documentary history of the 1812 period on the Niagara.

MEMOIR

A short time after Capt. Harris had received his appointment, he was ordered to enlist a Troop, & having accordingly opened a rendezvous, in about three weeks he had recruited nearly a full complement. This Troop then marched to Pitsfield from Boston, & remained some time at the former place, waiting its armament, clothing & equipment; during this time Capt. H. was favorably noticed in orders by the commanding officer of the Post, for his exertions in disciplining his men, & his attention to the cleanliness & good order of the cantonment. Impatiently desirous of joining the troops, that were pass-

ing thro' Pitsfield on their way to the northern frontier, Capt. H. made repeated applications to the different officers, whose duty it was to furnish the necessary equipments for his troop, but without success. Deprived of all prospect of joining the Army with his troop, & fearful that he might lose an opportunity of being engaged in the campaign then opened on Lake Champlain, he applied to Col. Tuttle for orders to report himself to Gen. Dearborn & to leave his troop under the command of his Lieutenant. Col. Tuttle not feeling himself authorized to give such an order, Capt. H. strongly solicited a furlough, intending, if obtained, to repair to Gen. Dearborn: this for the same reason was refused by Col. Tuttle. Disappointed of all hope from this quarter, Capt. H. addressed a very pressing letter to Col. Conner, aid to Gen. D., praying him to use his influence with the General for his permission to Capt. H. to come on, proffering his services "*even to a musquet in the line.*" Shortly after he received a letter from Col. Conner, saying the Army had received orders to go into Winter quarters.

Gen. Dearborn returned to Albany. Capt. H. then wishing to join his regiment, in order that his men might become acquainted with its discipline, & presuming also, that the chance of being engaged in active service would be greater by being stationed near the quarters of the commanding general, obtained permission to march his troop to the regiment at Greenbush. Having remained a few weeks at this place, Capt. H. was ordered by Gen. Dearborn to take 100 men, dragoons & artillerists, armed with musquets, and proceed in sleighs to Sackett's Harbor, there to relieve the Militia, whose time of service had expired. It was now, that Capt. H. had obtained his dearest wish & notwithstanding he had been nearly three weeks confined by a severe lameness he cheerfully obeyed the order. Arriving at the harbor, Col. Macomb, command-

ing there, assigned to him the charge of the left flank of the Post, recently vacated by the militia. How he conducted in this situation was tested by the repeated expressions of Col. Macomb's entire approbation. The winter passed in continual & vexatious alarms from the supposed approach of the enemy who, it was confidently expected, would have attacked the harbor. The left flank, much the weakest & most assailable point, required uncommon care & watchfulness, & altho' Capt. H. could scarcely walk, he never suffered his indisposition to detain him from his duty. Gen. Dearborn, arriving with a reinforcement, & placing the harbor in a better posture of defence, relieved it from further danger. On the breaking of the ice Capt. H. was ordered by Gen. Pike to march his troop to Utica, where his regiment was to be organized. Arriving there he found to his great disappointment, that his horses, during his separation from them, had been transferred to the Lt. Artillery,—being thus disabled from mounting his men, & feeling unwilling to take musquets & be transferred to the infantry, he volunteer'd to Capt. Bird of the dragoons to act as his Lieutenant; he was however relieved from this humiliating resort by the opportune assistance of Col. Burn, who procured him horses for about two thirds of his men, the other third being transferred to Lt. [blank in original] who had a command of dismounted dragoons.

Capt. H. was now ordered to Fort George with the squadron under Major Woodford. Arriving & remaining there some time, the Forage became scarce, & necessitated the grazing of the horses on the Common near the pickets. While engaged on this duty a report of Musquetry was heard on the third picket. Capt. H. immediately mounted his horse & galloped to the spot, where he found Maj. Malcolm, the officer of the day, rallying the guard, which had been suddenly attacked by a party of Indians &

Britons from the woods. The enemy retired & formed themselves on the road. Observing this, he asked Maj. Malcolm, if he did not intend to pursue; to which he replying in the affirmative, Capt. H. offered his services. A few men being collected, in addition to the guard, & formed, an unwillingness appeared among some of the men to advance; Capt. H. then dismounted, seized a Rifle, & led them on, fighting with the Rifle until the enemy was driven back to a wood. Beyond this it was deemed imprudent to pursue them, as our force was not adequate to their capture, & they were retiring on their encampment, & probably leading us into an ambush. Orders were therefor given to retire to the piquet station. This affair was by far the most bloody & destructive of all the piquet fights on the frontier, costing us in killed & wounded upwards of forty men, including Lt. Eldridge & his party, who, in coming to our relief, was surprized & massacred by the Savages.

Capt. H. participated generally in the principal skirmishes on the Piquets during the summer, which passed away without any other very important events.

Gen. Wilkinson having arrived at Sacket's Harbor, Col. Burn was directed to move his regiment by easy marches to the interior, for the purpose of recruiting the horses, preparatory to the descent on Montreal. Having in consequence arrived at Utica, Capt. H. found himself obliged to keep his room by reason of being much reduced by the sickness then prevailing on the frontier. Col. Burn now received orders to march for the Black River, & altho' strongly dissuaded by him, Capt. H. resolved to accompany the regiment. After the most toilsome & hazardous marches about the country on the Black river, the regiment finally joined the army in Canada, opposite Hamilton on the St. Lawrence, whence it took up its route to Montreal.

On this march Capt. H's troop was detailed for the rear guard, with orders from Gen. Wilkinson not to leave the ground, until the whole army had passed, & all the boats had moved down the river; & particularly to be careful that nothing should be left behind. The execution of this order detained Capt. H. two hours, during which he was obliged besides to deceive the enemy who had presented themselves on the rear, by manoeuvring his troop in such a manner, as to magnify its apparent force. He is not without confidence that by this measure & by the destruction of a number of Bridges, that he in some degree impeded the advance of the Enemy.

The Battle of Chrystler's Fields, Capt. H. feels persuaded, reflects on the 2d regt. Dragoons the highest honor. Consisting of 240 men on the morning of the Battle, it was reduced thro' the day by repeated details for expresses, officers' guards &c to 130 men. The Infantry, retiring from the field, left 4 Field pieces, under the orders of Capt. Craig & Lts Irvine & Smith with a bare sufficiency of men to work them, exposed to the enemy. Noticing their unprotected situation, they advanced upon them with their whole force in three columns "*en echelon*." At this critical moment the handful of dragoons alone were left to save the Cannon & the Honor of the Army. The enemy's first column, of about 450 men, had reached almost within grasp of the pieces, when Col. Walbach who stood with a number of Staff Officers in a ravine, asked Maj. Woodford, the comg officer of the dragoons, if a charge of cavalry were practicable. Woodford applied to Capt. H., as senior captain, for his opinion; to which he immediately answered, that "not a moment should be lost." The charge was made, the enemy turned, the artillery rescued, & the reputation of the Army snatched from dishonor. In this affair, of 130

dragoons, 18 men were killed & wounded, & 25 horses. Capt. H. had his coat twice pierced by musquet balls.

In his report of this battle, Gen. Boyd states, that the dragoons were early on the field but had no opportunity to act ! ! !

The Army having embarked on board the boats for Cornwall, the rescued artillery was ordered down by land, under escort of the dragoons. They all reached Cornwall at daylight the next morning, making their way thro' the woods, the bridges on the public roads having been destroyed. The dragoons had then been 24 hours on horseback.

At Cornwall it was announced, that the campaign had closed. Gen. Swartout & Col. Walbach called on Capt. H. & informed him, that the dragoons must cross to the American shore, & proposed that the horses should be swimmèd across. To this method Capt. H. objected as impracticable. It was however persisted in, & the experiment being made, it failed. He was then permitted to use his own means of passing, which he did, & succeeded.

The dragoons were now ordered by Gen. Wilkinson into winter quarters at Greenbush. Having arrived at Utica on their way thither, they met a counter order from the Sec. at War directing them to dismount, send the horses to Greenbush & the men to St's [Sackett's] Harbor. Approaching that place, the regiment halted a few miles short of it, while barracks could be prepared for their reception. Here Col. Burn offered to Capt. H. a furlough, presuming he would be desirous of visiting his home; but altho' no officer could have stronger need of nor better title to such an indulgence, Capt. H. still fearful of missing any opportunity of active service, which might have presented in his absence, preferred remaining

with the Army; & at one time during this winter he was the only Captain of his regiment on the frontier.

The enemy was occupied at this time in reinforcing himself in Kingston, & Col. Smith, comg. officer at the Harbor, apprehensive of an attack, directed Col. Burn to collect all the public horses, & establish a patrol guard on the road to Kingston. About thirty were collected & Capt. H. solicited & obtained the command of them. The laborious & perilous character of this duty can hardly be properly appreciated, but by those, who, in the midst of winter, experienced its severity & danger.

The fear of an attack increasing, as the enemy were reinforced, additional troops were called into the defence of the Harbor. Among them were about forty mounted dragoons, which, added to Capt. H's guard, gave him a respectable force. This winter, however, as the last, passed without any offensive movement on either side.

The succeeding Spring opened with a new campaign. Gen. Brown was assigned to the left division of the Army, stationed on the Niagara. Capt. H. eager to be actively employed waited on Gen. Brown & requested to be ordered to that frontier; & the General departing soon after for his command, fearful his request might not be remembered, Capt. H. obtained the promise of an Aid, that he would remind the General of it, & endeavor to obtain his assent. Meanwhile he occupied himself in disciplining his troop, & shortly after was gratified by the reception of the much desired order. Being directed to proceed by easy marches to the Niagara, he departed, with the permission of Gen. Gaines, then commanding at the harbor. He had advanced however only to the Genesee river, when he met an express from Gen. Brown, ordering him to return with all speed to the Harbor, in consequence of a request to that effect from Gen. Gaines, who had strong apprehensions of an attack from the

enemy. Capt. H. accordingly measured back his steps & reported himself again at the Harbor.

Advices now came to Gen. Gaines from Col. Mitchell, commanding at Oswego, where were deposited the armament & equipment of the Fleet building at the Harbor, stating the appearance of the enemy's fleet off that place, & the probability of an attack. Gen. Gaines then ordered Capt. H. to proceed, with his troop & a company of Riflemen, by a forced march to the support of Col. Mitchell. Unfortunately the notice came too late. Oswego was distant 60 miles & the enemy commenced his attack on the morning Capt. H. left the Harbor. On his march he met an express, informing that Oswego had fallen; he pushed on however to within a few miles of Col. Mitchell, who had retired, & from him received orders to return to the Harbor. The enemy having evacuated Oswego, the Naval armaments were shipped in boats, guarded by the Riflemen under Maj. Apling, to be transported to the Harbor. This expedition was chased into Sandy Creek by a detachment of Gunboats from the enemy's fleet under Capt. Popham. Gen. Gaines, apprized of the exposed situation of the property, dispatched Capt. H. with his troop & a company of Lt Artillery to reinforce Maj. Apling. The glorious result of this affair is well known. Capt. H. participated largely in it, but, from perhaps improper delicacy, declined being mentioned in Maj. Apling's report.¹

The probability that Sir James Yeo would send in another detachment for the attainment of an object, on which depended the equipment of our Navy, & for the recapture of his boats, so discreditably lost, Gen. Gaines & Com. Chauncey ordered additional troops to Sandy Creek.

¹ Daniel Appling, a gallant young Georgian, who entered the army in 1808. He had numerous promotions and was brevetted colonel for distinguished services at Plattsburg in September, 1814. He died at Montgomery, Ala., in 1817, aged 30 years.

Capt. Harris was directed to remain with half his troop & to send the other half to escort the prisoners to Greenbush.

It was then determined to transport the Navy materials by land, during which Capt. H. remained at the Creek. Still extremely anxious to join the left division on the Niagara, he kept his eye on its movements. Not being honored by any commands from Gen. Brown, & afraid that the division of his troop might occasion the defeat of his wishes, he wrote to Gen. B.'s aid pressing for the order to join the General's division.

The public property having been all transported from the Creek to the Harbor, Capt. H. returned to the latter place. Here he waited in anxious expectation of hearing from Gen. Brown, & meeting the return from Greenbush of the absent part of his Troop. At last he had the joy on the same day, of receiving the long solicited order & seeing the return of his detached men.

The next day Capt. H. once more took up his march for the Niagara. A confidential note had come to him along with the order, informing him, when the army would cross the Niagara. This gave him only five days to reach Buffaloe, a distance of 250 miles. On the fifth evening of his march however he waited on Gen. Brown, who received him with much civility, & expressed in flattering terms his surprize, as well as gratification at the rapidity of his march. Capt. H. halted his troop within two miles of Buffaloe for refreshment, & so long had his men been deprived of sleep, it was with difficulty they could attend to their horses.

The Army commenced crossing the Niagara on the evening of Capt. H.'s arrival at Buffaloe. Seeing no preparation for passing his troop, he applied to the General on the subject, being apprehensive that he should not be passed in time to share in the expected conflict with Ft.

Erie. The General assured him he should cross, before any offensive operations took place. Accordingly the next morning he crossed, & was present at the surrender of [Fort] Erie.

The Army marched on the day following for Chippewa, having Capt. H's troop in advance. In approaching Chippewa, the enemy sent out a party to meet us, which was soon compelled to retire. The Army encamped for the night on Street's Creek, about a mile & a half from the enemy's works in the village of Chippewa. At this time the services of Capt. Harris were most particularly required. Commanding the only regular dragoons with this army, the whole duty of patrolling, reconnoitering, & of mounted pickets devolved on him & his troop. Having but one officer, a cornet, the service became extremely arduous.

On the 5th July the enemy shewed his whole force on the plain in front of our encampment, throwing his Savages & Militia into the surrounding woods. These were met by our forces of a similar arm, fought in their own way & driven back to the Chippewa. Meanwhile, Gen. Scott displayed his brigade on the field opposed to the British under Gen. Riall. Capt. H. was ordered to check the flight of a few of our Indians, who were retiring from the woods. He performed this duty, & seeing no prospect of employ for his Troop he ordered it to the rear in charge of the cornet, & volunteered his personal services to Gen. Scott. The enemy beaten from the field, fled to their works in Chippewa. Capt. H. being then with Gen. Scott in advance of his line, was consulted by him on the propriety of suspending any further operations, & returning to Camp; to which he replied, that he thought it would be too hazardous & very destructive to attempt following the enemy over the bridge, under the fire of their battery. Of course it would be prudent to return. The General then

asked, if he had seen Gen. Brown, & on his replying in the negative, requested him to go to him & say, that he, Gen. Scott, thought it advisable to retire to the Encampment. Gen. Brown coming up, some conversation ensued between them, & the Army was ordered into camp.

Gen. Scott, in his report of this action, speaking of the Officers, says: "Major Wood & Capt. Harris of the dragoons, whose troop could not act, came up & very handsomely offered their services. The latter had his horse shot under him."—Capt. H. remained on the field, reconnoitering the enemies works, & observing but few men in the village, & that the battery appeared to be evacuated, he returned to camp, & informed Gen. Scott of his belief, that the enemy had retired from the village. He was then directed to take his troop, & endeavor to ascertain that fact, but not to expose his men. Capt. H. therefor securing his men in the woods, & taking with him a corporal, proceeded on to the plain in front of the enemies battery. He closely viewed their works, & discovering but few men in the entrenchments, & no appearance of men or guns in the battery, concluded, that the principal part of their force must have retreated on Queenstown, more particularly as he was not fired upon from the battery. Almost confirmed in the opinion already given, he was on the point of returning, when it occurred to him, that the guns might be masked, & that the enemy did not chuse to waste his ammunition on an individual, or from some other motive remained silent. Unwilling to make a report, founded on uncertainty, he resolved on an expedient, which might remove all doubt. Presuming if the guns were really in battery, he should induce the enemy to betray it by presenting to their fire his whole troop, & conceiving that the advantage obtained would compensate the risk of losing a few men, he sent his corporal to order the cornet to bring up the troop. As soon as

they came Capt. H. displayed them before the battery. The enemy thereupon instantly shewed themselves, run out their guns, & opened a brisk fire. The object obtained, Capt. H. filed off his troop & returned to camp. Reporting this affair to Gen. Scott, he said in joke "did you march your men into the battery?", which Capt. H. misunderstanding as a hint, that he had not thoroughly done his duty, replied to, by offering to attempt it. "No Sir, your report is quite satisfactory, & the act was performed in a gallant manner." The General afterwards frequently spoke of this affair.

The following day Gen. Ripley moved up the Chippewa, in order to ford the river & attack the enemy in his works. The enemy marched out to meet him. During this Capt. H. was ordered to reconnoitre the village. Gen. Ripley drove them back & as they repassed thro' the village, Capt. H. observed them to leave a field piece & some dragoons, to cover their retreat. He then became eager to pass the river, & lead in the pursuit of the flying enemy; but they had that morning destroyed the bridge. Without other resource, he entered the river with part of his troop, but finding his horses unaccustomed to the water, he returned, & ordered such of his men, as could swim, to dismount & follow him. With a few men he re-entered the river, & gained the opposite shore by swimming. Gen. Ripley making his appearance at the same time, the enemy fled the village, & our Army, passing over in boats, encamped therein that night. For his conduct on this occasion Capt. H. was honored by the approbation, warmly expressed as he understood, of Gen. Brown; & by having his name given to the army for the countersign of that night.

The next morning the army took up its march in pursuit of the enemy. Capt. H. was directed to proceed, in advance, & reconnoitre. He pushed down the Queenstown road & reaching the heights in advance of the army,

found the enemy had fled to his strong holds in Newark.

On Queenstown heights the army remained some time encamped, & here again a most harassing & dangerous duty devolved upon Capt. H. in the line of patrolling & reconnoitering the country in the vicinity of the heights & of the enemy at Newark. Gen. Brown frequently called on Capt. H. in his tent & represented to him, that he relied upon him, to guard the encampment from being surprized. Stimulated by this responsibility to increased exertion, day & night he patroled the country about St. Davids, a duty rendered extremely hazardous by its immense woods & intricate pathways being always ambushed by regulars, militia & savages. In the daily skirmishes, which occurred in this neighborhood Capt. H. was always present. Not a day passed, but he was engaged with the enemy.

At one time reconnoitring with his cornet & four men the village of St. Davids, at the close of the day he was suddenly set upon by about seventy men, who rushed from the woods. His cornet's horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, but the ground was maintained by Capt. H. until three of his horses were so badly wounded, that he was obliged to retire.

The Army broke up from Queenstown heights, leaving an officer to blow up the fort, with Capt. H's troop to protect him, & marched upon Fort George, under which it encamped for the night. Returning thence to Queenstown heights, Capt. H's troop, as usual, was ordered in advance. On this march he was opposed by some regulars & militiamen, of whom he made thirteen prisoners.

The enemy having in the absence of the Army reoccupied the heights of Queenstown, fled thence on the reappearance of our force, & Gen. Porter with his volunteers was ordered to pursue. He in a short time sent for the dragoons & Capt. H was ordered to join him.

The enemy having escaped from the force under Gen.

Porter, Capt. H. proposed to him to allow him to lead his troop, by a cross road thro' the woods to St. Davids; where he expected to fall in with a detachment of the enemy, which had been stationed there.

Taking up his route thro' the woods over a pathway, which admitted of moving only in single file, & being distant about 2 miles from Gen. Porter, himself riding in advance of his troop, Capt. H. discovered a British Officer standing by the side of his horse near a log-house. He immediately hid himself in the woods, until the officer re-entered the house; then selecting 6 men from his troop he galloped up, & surrounded the house, which to his surprise he found occupied, as he thought, with soldiers. Calling upon them to surrender, they opened upon him a spirited fire from the windows. The body of his troop, hearing in the wood, the report of musquetry, rushed up, & the enemy, finding it useless to resist any further, surrendered. Instead however of soldiers, as at first supposed, they proved to be one officer of the regular army, & five of the most active & influential officers of organised militia. Here Capt. H had a narrow escape from a musquet, which was levelled at his breast & fired at the distance of a few feet from him. One of his men was killed & several horses wounded. For this affair he was merely noticed in general orders, while the credit of it was given to Gen. Porter in the official reports to the War Department. Capt. H. was advised by Col's Wood & Hindman to make a written report on the subject to Gen. Brown, in order that he might receive the credit of it at Washington. This he declined, as he had already stated it verbally to Gen. Brown, & presumed, he would take such notice of it as it might deserve. It attracted largely the attention of the public, having made its way into the principal gazettes, tho' still unaccompanied with the name of Capt. Harris.

The next affair, in which Capt. H. was engaged, was the Battle of Bridgewater. Here he led the advance of the Army & was the first to discover the enemy's line on Lunda's heights. He was exposed to their fire for some time before the Army came up & was actively engaged on the field from the commencement to the close of the battle. He at one time fell into the hands of the enemy, but was fortunate enough to extricate himself, & escape; at another he had again nearly been made prisoner from galloping upon the enemy's line, which, in the obscurity of the night & the action, he mistook for our own. From this danger he was rescued by the timely voice of Capt. Ritchie of the Artillery. His horse was pierced thro' the body by one musquet ball & the seat of his saddle by another.

Capt. H. has been told, that Gen. Scott, during his confinement by the wound he received, frequently spoke of his zeal & gallantry in this battle. When it had closed, by order of Gen. Ripley, he took up with his troop the duty of rear-guard.

The Army afterwards retired upon Ft. Erie, having as usual Capt. H's troop in advance. Gen. Gaines arriving to assume the command, a siege commenced, during which Capt. H whose troop had become reduced to a mere subaltern's command, served in the General's family, as acting aid, by his particular invitation. On this service he was necessarily much exposed during the siege & in the assault made by the enemy on the works. In what manner he acquitted himself will appear in the subjoined extract from Gen. Gaines' report of the battle:

To Capt. Harris of the dragoons, Vol. Aid de Camp much credit is due for his constant vigilance & strict attention to every duty, previous to the action; & the steady courage, zeal & activity, which he manifested during the fight.

Shortly after this action Gen. Gaines was severely

wounded by the bursting of a shell in his room, which compelling him to cross to the American shore, Capt. H accompanied him to the hospital at Williamsville & then returned to Erie.

At this place Gen. Ripley was pleased to observe to Capt. H. that he had not till then been thoroughly acquainted with his military character & that he should certainly recommend him for a Lt. Coloneley in one of the new regiments.

Gen. Gaines, having recovered so far as to be able to travel, addressed a polite note to Capt. H. requesting his company on his journey to the interior. Being at this time, by the great reduction of his troop left without a command & receiving also advice of the sudden death of his father, Capt. H. accepted the invitation.

He thus quitted the Army, after being constantly with it during two years, all which time he was strenuously & laboriously engaged in the duties pertaining, not only to his particular command but to any other service, with which it pleased his superiors to honor him; & was present in all the principal skirmishes & battles inclusively, from that of Chrystler's field to the assault on Fort Erie.

The day of his departure an officer called upon Capt H. to inform him, that he had just seen Gen. Brown, who had recovered from his wound & returned to the frontier, to whom he had stated his surprise, that the services of Capt. H. had not been noticed in his official reports. At which the General also expressed his surprise & assured him that Capt. H. stood at, or near, the head of his confidential report to the War Department and spoke in the most flattering terms of the military character & conduct of Capt. Harris.

To shew the opinion of that distinguished engineer Col. McRea² the following extract of a letter from an officer at

² William McRee, afterwards U. S. Surveyor-general.

Erie is given: "all your friends ask me frequently, if I hear from you; you are much esteemed & beloved with this Army. Col McRea said lately in presence of Gen. Brown & many officers of rank, 'had I the bestowing of brevets, I would immediately give Capt. Harris two.'"

Col. Brooke says also, in a letter to Capt. H.: "the neglect you have experienced is often the subject of regret with your friends, in this army."

Capt. H. on his route to his home in Boston tarried some time with Generals Gaines & Scott in Albany & on their departure from Albany, the latter said to Capt. H. that he must have a higher rank in the Army & that on his arrival in Washington he should make exertions to obtain him a regiment. At the same time Maj. Belton, aid to Gen. Gaines, gave Capt. H. a copy of a letter, written by that general to the War Department, which is subjoined. This was not solicited by Capt. H., nor did he suggest to the General a wish, to engage him in his interests.

Returning to Boston, Capt. H. reported himself to Gen. Dearborn, by whom he was immediately invited to enter his military family, as Aid. Here he remained, until the new organization of the Army & in the mean time was entrusted by the General with the settling of certain claims for vessels captured, made by the British against the inhabitants of the District of Maine. Repairing to Castine to meet the British commissioner & he not making his appearance, Capt. H. conceiving the claims to be unfounded, returned to Boston.

Recently, Gen. Ripley having received instructions to appoint an officer to make, conjointly with an Agent of the Commissary department, an inventory of all the military stores in his department & to dispose of the surplus by public sale, selected Capt. H. for that service; thus from the commencement of the War to the present hour he has never been off duty.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GEN. GAINES TO THE WAR
DEPARTMENT

ALBANY, SEP 21 1814

SIR.—I deem it my duty to inform you, that Capt. Harris of the regiment Lt Dragoons has served with the Army on the Niagara since 1st July & participated in each of the battles & several skirmishes with a degree of skill & gallantry, which I am persuaded from what I have heard & what I have seen has not been surpassed by any officer of any corps in the Army. His troop has been much reduced & dismounted & being under the impression that he will be more useful in the Infantry I take the liberty to request that he may be attached to one of the North Eastern regiments, with such rank as his excellent qualifications & distinguished services entitle him. I am of opinion, that he would do honor to the rank of a Field officer. Should there be any new corps raised, I beg you would be pleased to name Capt. Harris to the President for the appointment of Lt. Colonel. The appointment of Major, in a regiment now in service, would probably be as much as could be given him at this time without complaint; but if intelligence, honor, zeal, activity, discipline & courage are taken into view in settling rank, his name would stand below few field officers within my knowledge.

I have the honor &c

[Signed]

E. P. GAINES.

The Hon. SECRETARY OF WAR
Washington

THE STORY OF PHINNEY'S WESTERN ALMANACK

*With Notes on Other Calendars and Weather
Forecasters of Buffalo*

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE

In preceding volumes of this series have appeared various "Contributions towards a Bibliography of the Niagara Region."¹ As a further contribution in this field, the following notes are submitted. They constitute, it is true, but a foot-note to history, but they are entitled to a place in the bibliographical records of our region, and they relate to men of high standing, and to a unique and long-continued enterprise.

We refer to Elihu Phinney, and to his sons Elihu and Henry; to the third generation; and to their long-continued annual known as "Phinney's Calendar or Western Almanack," which from 1850 until its discontinuance was published in Buffalo. Some sketch of the history of this enterprise, and of the men who carried it on, is here submitted.

Judge Elihu Phinney used to be styled "the pioneer editor and publisher west of Albany." He came from Connecticut to Cooperstown, N. Y., in February, 1795, and on April 3d of that year issued the first number of the *Otsego Herald or Western Advertiser*, the second

1. In vol. v, "Bibliography of the Upper Canada Rebellion"; vol. vi, "Buffalo Imprints before 1850"; vol. vii, "A book that grew: Editions of 'Life of Mary Jemison'"; vol. xi, "Fillmore Bibliography"; vol. xix, "Bibliography of the Writings of J. N. Larned"; vol. xix, "The Periodical Press of Buffalo", with supplementary list in vol. xxii.

journal published in this state, west of Albany. Coopers-town was at that time regarded as "western."

Most famous of all the many publications of the press he established, was the long-continued "Phinney's Calendar or Western Almanack," which appears to have been first issued in 1797, and which later became a Buffalo publication.

The elder Phinney, who was for several years a judge of the Otsego County court, died in July, 1813, leaving two sons, Henry and Elihu Phinney, who for many years carried on the business their father had founded. In 1821 they discontinued the *Otsego Herald*, but "Phinney's Calendar," which the sons had carried on since 1807, was continued by them and their children until about 1861, and by other publishers, but with the same old name, until 1887.

In this long period it was issued annually at Coopers-town, down to 1850; except for the years 1807 to 1812 inclusive, when the imprint is Otsego, N. Y. In 1849 Henry F. Phinney married a daughter of James Feni-more Cooper, and removed to Buffalo, where he established a book and publishing business under the style of Phinney & Co. Here it was, in January, 1850, that this house sent out the 53d annual calendar, under the old name of "Phinney's Calendar or Western Almanac"—the final "k" having been dropped from "Almanack" in the gradual evolution of the language. On the earlier issues had appeared the statement: "Calculated for the Western District of the State of New York," the astronomical part being furnished by "Gabriel Goodweather," who was probably Andrews Beers, as disclosed by the following card which appeared in the "Almanack" for 1803:

GABRIEL GOODWEATHER
to the public.

I am impelled by justice to acknowledge that I made two mistakes in the astronomical calculations, &c for Phinney's Calen-

dar, for A.D. 1798; but I still supposed he would employ me again. When I found that he had employed that great astronomer Andrew Beers, in preference to me, there was not a little envy excited in my mind; and I determined to criticise all Mr. Beers' calculations, and, if I found an error, to expose it: but finding everything perfectly correct, I do voluntarily make this declaration to the public in order to avoid a suit in slander, which I understood Mr. Phinney contemplated instituting against me, on account of several envious expressions against the accuracy of the astronomical part of his Almanack; and I further declare that I believe Mr. Beers to be the greatest Astronomer (excepting myself) that can be found north of the Potomac.

GABRIEL GOODWEATHER.

Witnesses:

THOMAS TRUEMAN.
BRIDGET BRANDLIAR.

If "Gabriel Goodweather" was not Andrew Beers, he was at any rate a humorist of quality. Andrew Beers continued in charge of the astronomical part of Phinney's Calendar until 1826, in which year it was performed "By a Gentleman of New York." In 1827 it was calculated by Edwin E. Prentiss, who was perhaps the afore-said "gentleman." Mr. Prentiss had it until 1832, when he was succeeded by Prof. George R. Perkins, in whose capable charge it continued for many years.

The astronomical calculations were at first made, as above stated, "for the Western District of the State of New York," but it will be borne in mind that at the close of the eighteenth century Western New York was chiefly an unsettled wilderness, and Otsego County was regarded as "western." In 1803 the almanac was "calculated for the meridian of Albany," by "Andrew Beers, Philom," presumably "philomath," a lover of learning. In 1805 the almanac was "calculated for the horizon and meridian of Albany," but in 1806, and for many years following, for the horizon and meridian of Otsego. In 1850, when Phinney's Calendar began to be published in Buffalo, George R. Perkins, who was professor of mathematics at the New York State Normal School at Albany,

was still making the calculations; but in that year they were made for the meridian of Buffalo, which was given as latitude 42 degrees 53 minutes north; longitude 78 degrees 55 minutes west from Greenwich. There was much discrepancy in the earlier years, as to the exact location of Buffalo. The reader is referred to volume xxii of these Publications for an account of observations made in 1860, with a view to determine the latitude and longitude of Buffalo. It was then established as latitude $42^{\circ} 53' 03.18''$, longitude west of Greenwich $78^{\circ} 52' 41.83''$. For a good many years it was given on the title-page of the Western Almanac as lat. $42^{\circ} 53'$ North, long. $78^{\circ} 55'$ West.

The Western Almanac continued to be published in Buffalo by Phinney & Co., at 188 Main street (old numbering) and to be edited by Professor Perkins, for a number of years. The bookstore, which also had an entrance from Seneca street, had been conducted by F. W. Breed, who became a member of the firm of Phinney & Co. In the early 50's it consisted of Elihu and Henry F. Phinney, Elihu Phinney, Jr., and Fred. W. Breed. They were enterprising publishers, and some of the most notable books ever produced in Buffalo were manufactured by them. Conspicuous in the list is the quarto Bible, issued in 1850. There are also copies with the title-page dated 1851. It was a handsomely-printed edition, but is rarely to be found now-a-days. Among the early publications of Phinney & Co. were many schoolbooks, including Young's "Civil Government," Town's series of School Readers and Spellers, Hale's "Premium History of the United States," Jane Taylor's "Physiology for Children," Marvin's "Intellectual Arithmetic"—a stumbling-block for more than one generation of youngsters—and many miscellaneous and popular works. Phinney & Co. were for years the publishers of the copy-books of Spencer's sys-

tem of penmanship, perfected by Prof. P. R. Spencer. Buffalo has no publishing house today which ranks with this old establishment of 70 years ago. And regularly as New Year's arrived, appeared the old familiar "Western Almanac," to find a place, with its quaint predictions, its jokes and miscellany, on a nail at the side of desks in store and counting-room, or in farmhouse kitchen, the land over.

The senior member of the firm, Elihu Phinney, died at Cooperstown Feb. 5, 1863, in his 78th year. Prior to his death, the publishing firm of Phinney, Blakeman & Mason had been formed in New York City, and also the house of Iveson, Phinney & Co., publishers of school and college text-books. In Buffalo, Phinney & Co. were succeeded, about 1861, by Breed, Butler & Co., which about 1867 became Breed & Lent. In 1871 the firm style was Breed, Lent & Co.; in 1873, James M. Lent, who was succeeded in 1877 by Peter Paul & Brother. Each of these firms in turn took over Phinney's Calendar, and issued it without material change in style. It continued to be published by Peter Paul & Bro. until 1887, when it was discontinued, having been issued without a break for 90 years.

Prof. George R. Perkins made the astronomical calculations for it, until his death, Aug. 23, 1876. It was then carried on by Herman Poole of the "Buffalo Practical School," and from 1881 to its end by Lester Wheeler of Heathcote School.

It does not appear that either of the brothers, Elihu or Henry Phinney, ever resided in Buffalo. Elihu's lifelong home was Cooperstown, where he died Jan. 26, 1863. His brother Henry, who with him had built up the publishing business at Cooperstown, and saw it established in Buffalo, died at Cooperstown, Sept. 14, 1850. It was men of the third generation who carried on the business

in Buffalo: Henry Frederick, eldest son of Elihu, had been a partner in the firm of Phinney & Co. since 1839. The destruction of their establishment by fire, in 1849, led to the removal of their printing and publishing business to Buffalo, where the family was represented by Henry F. and Elihu (third). Their place of business was always, during its continuance here, at No. 188 Main street. In 1851 and '52 the brothers resided at No. 87 East Swan street. Elihu's name is not in the Buffalo Directory for 1852. He was married, June 12, 1851, at Riverside, Ulster Co., N. Y., to Sarah L. Stewart of that place. In 1854 he was boarding with Miss Clare Cutler at Nos. 303-305 Washington street; and from 1855 to 1860 his residence is given as No. 99 Niagara street. After the book-selling and publishing business had passed to Breed, Butler & Co., Elihu Phinney (third) continued for a time to be a member of the firm. Apparently none of the family resided in Buffalo after 1860.

Elihu the third—the only member of the Phinney family who was actively identified with the interests of Buffalo—seems to have inherited from his father and grandfather, along with other excellent qualities, a certain dry humor which sometimes was so subtle as to baffle dull matter-of-fact people, who never quite knew how to take him. The sincerity, not to say the scientific basis, of the weather predictions in the old almanac may very likely have been questioned, or even derided, by users of that ubiquitous publication. In the very early years there was less prognostication of coming weather, than a giving of homely advice. Thus, scattered through the calendar for 1798 are such remarks as these: "Storm about this time." "Turn out and break roads" (this in January). In February: "Tough times for cattle." "Perhaps a thaw about this time." In April: "Bad walking abroad; the fair lady slips her delicate feet into san-

dals, and steps cautiously over the mud." "Flurries of snow—take care of your lambs." There were many predictions that the weather would be fair, or cloudy, or dull—which might be termed, "playing it safe." The moral advice that accompanied all these precious prognostications, tended as much as anything to make Phinney's Calendar famous. "When you are married, study Addition, practice Multiplication, and avoid Division," was worthy of Poor Richard himself. So, too, "Go not to the Doctor for every Disease, to the Lawyer for every Quarrel or to the Tavern for every Thirst;" and countless more of the same sort.

Often the weather was predicted with caution: "It may rain, or perhaps snow" (Apr., 1803); "Expect a change" (Sept., '03); "Disagreeable, homely weather" was promised in November of that year; while for December we read: "Some snow and some rain, and many cold fingers before this month is out." Year after year the seasons' variations were foretold in this fashion, sometimes with a pleasing lapse into rhyme,—as when, for August in a by-gone year, we read: "About now, thunder, or I shall wonder"; and three generations of Phinneys had been held responsible for it. From time to time new features were added, such as notable dates and historic anniversaries; but the characteristic weather predictions were continued to the end, except for one year. The Calendar for 1877, the first year in which it was published by Peter Paul & Bro., contains not a single prediction or prophecy! In 1878 however, they were resumed, and it continued to be cold in January and hot in August, in the old approved fashion, until the venerable almanac went out of business.

Just how far the younger Phinney was responsible for this time-worn if not time-honored feature, one cannot say; but oddly enough, he took it upon himself to de-

fend it, in a letter which, though no doubt in a degree Pickwickian, is still so expressive of an unusual personality, that it may well be preserved here. In May, 1879, when the Western Almanac was being published in Buffalo by Peter Paul & Bro., Mr. Phinney sent the following communication to the *Freeman's Journal* of Coopers-town:

PHINNEY'S CALENDAR OR WESTERN ALMANAC.—Mr. Editor: The intimation thrown out in your issue of the 24th ult. that this time-honored periodical had been virtually superseded by Her-rick's ephemeral and altogether pretentious imitation, has excited my just indignation.

The late Mr. Geo. A. Starkweather, (peace to his ashes, nevertheless!) not many years ago, before a large audience in our court-house, took occasion to remark, quite seriously, that the exact fulfillment of one of my most remarkable prophecies—that of a snow storm in August—was a matter of pure accident. This, too, stirred a feeling of resentment which was repressed at the time, and I shall therefore avail myself of the present opportunity to dispose thoroughly and finally of both these disparaging charges.

If, since my retirement, certain slight irregularities have crept into the management of the Calendar, neither you, Mr. Editor, nor the public at large, have any right to complain, much less to hold me responsible. If, thro' incompetence and charlatanry, the late snow storm was too vaguely predicted, the fault must not be laid at my door. What I claim is—and I claim it against all comers—that *during my administration and that of my predecessors*, embracing a period of nearly or quite 70 years, the prophecies contained in that little annual were fulfilled with an exactitude wholly unexampled, and that the weather was, upon the whole, taking year in and year out, such as history has never before recorded, and may very probably never record again. The larger part of it indeed, although exceedingly stale, being now more than half a century old, is to-day, on that very account—having stood the test of time—regarded by many intelligent persons as more reliable, more available, and therefore more practically useful, than any we have had since 1862—the year in which my personal supervision ceased.

Some go so far as to demand that on account of its great moderation and generally conservative character, it should be adopted and sanctioned by Congress as the national standard for the next fifty years, ignoring entirely all the new-fangled theories, whose only practical results thus far have been to sweep our western border with hurricanes, and to submerge one of the finest cities of Hungary. As to the general principles upon which the weather calculations were made, although dif-

fering materially from those upon which eclipses, astral showers and cometary phenomena were based, I can only, within these brief limits, make the assertion that they were *strictly scientific*. Take for example such a prediction as the following, which may be found on almost any page of the Calendar, and which frequently extended over half the month: "About—these days—you—may—look—for—a—change—of—weather." Now to this and all similar prophecies, which a good many ignorant people profess to regard as mere wild conjecture, the annexed purely mathematical formula was invariably applied: "As the *latitude* (reckoned from the discretion given) is to the *longitude* (reckoned from the time covered) so will the atmospheric changes be." Or, more briefly still: "As the latitude is to the longitude, so is the weather"—which is simply the "Rule of Three, direct," as every school-boy knows; and accordingly, since "figures cannot lie," it turns out as a matter of fact, that during seventy long years, not one single prediction failed of exact verification! There is the Calendar; there is the weather, down in black and white, to speak for itself, and I challenge any man to dispute the record.

In forecasting, however, the more majestic and stupendous phenomena—such as eclipses, sun-dogs, sidereal changes, crimson auroras, meteoric flights, snow and hail storms at the summer solstice, cyclones, monsoons, earthquakes, water-spouts, tidal waves, volcanic eruptions, marine ebullitions, millennial periods, &c.—an "*Alligational and Aerial Calculus*," of my own invention, was uniformly employed, the powers and possibilities of which seem to be well nigh illimitable, and the secret of which I do not propose to divulge.

During my residence in Buffalo, however, some twenty-odd years ago, where Gen. Myer ("Old Probabilities") was also then sojourning, he managed in some surreptitious manner to possess himself of a sufficient number of these secrets upon which to found his present famous system, and I affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is not to-day a single drawer in his miserable old weather-beaten "Bureau" at Washington, that isn't crammed with invaluable memoranda clandestinely abstracted from my own private pigeon-holes.

So at last, between the selfish greed of the Government on the one hand—which has wickedly connived at these shameful practices—and the inordinate ambition of Gen. Myer on the other (who is willing, with a good fat salary, to build himself up on another man's reputation,) I find myself, in the evening of life, stripped, not only of all the honor to which my valuable inventions and profound meteorological investigations might justly have entitled me, but also of the pecuniary emoluments which their universal approval and adoption would have been certain to produce.

Worse than all this, my reputation as a Scientist has suffered. Mr. Starkweather began the assault. You, sir, have continued it. The farmers, too, of the north, who formerly sowed their

grain and cut their hay "by Phinney's Calendar," have deserted me in a body. Members of my own immediate family even (which is the "most unkindest cut of all,") have come to be exceedingly distrustful of my predictions.

In fact, "my occupation's gone." I am entitled to heavy damages. And yet the *great vital secrets* of this calendar are still my own. "In the deep bosom" of the "*Alligational and Aerial Calculus*" above mentioned, they all "lie buried." With that omnipotent engine, supplemented by an original system of volatile logarithms, bringing all terrestrial, atmospherical and sidereal phenomena into the relentless grasp of the mixed mathematics, it is rendered possible not merely to *predict*, but, what is of infinitely greater moment, to *avert*, the direst of all physical calamities, such as the great earthquake at Lisbon, or the late frightful inundation in Hungary. But, Mr. Editor, I am done.

Unless the Government shall make suitable reparation for the wrong it has done me, and unless "Old Probabilities" shall haul down his flag and surrender at discretion that stolen "Bureau," these secrets—which would have proved invaluable to the Government, to the country and to all mankind—shall die with me and my family.

Respectfully yours,

E. P.

This letter, which has a touch of genius akin to that of Mark Twain, was no doubt, taken with solemn seriousness in some quarters, but probably not by General Myer, who must have enjoyed the joke that he owed his fame in any degree to "Phinney's Calendar or Western Almanac."

A few words about "Old Probabilities" will not be inappropriate in this connection. Albert James Myer, born at Newburg on the Hudson in 1828, graduated in 1847 from Hobart College, and received the degree of M. D. from the Buffalo Medical College in 1851. He joined the army, and shared in Indian campaigns. It was during his service on the plains, that he devised the signal system, which, modified and extended, is still in army use. Gen. Myer has said that he got the idea from watching the Indians waving their hands; it was suggested to his mind that a system of motions, with flags by day and torches by night, might be utilized as army signals. It

is an idea which has been adopted by the armies of many nations.

During the Civil War Gen. Myer was Chief Signal Officer, was brevetted brigadier-general in 1865, and retiring from the army, settled in Buffalo, where in August, 1857, he had married Miss Kate Walden, daughter of Judge Walden, whose fine old home occupied the site of the Teck Theater at Main and Edward streets. It was during his Buffalo residence that he prepared his manual of signals for the U. S. army and navy. It was at this time, too, that his interest in meteorology led him into experiments, regarding which we summarize from an account based on official reports.

The Smithsonian Institution had begun a system of weather observations, authorized by Act of Congress, Feb. 7, 1870, in various parts of the country. On the basis of these observations, Gen. Myer elaborated a plan of forecasting meteorological probabilities. Weather conditions, temperature, direction and velocity of the wind, etc., were observed at points on the Great Lakes and in the interior of the country. Arrangements were made with the telegraph companies, and on Nov. 1, 1870, under the superintendence of Gen. Myer, the first simultaneous reports of weather conditions at many points, were made. When these were assembled and correlated, an absolutely scientific prediction was possible. Gen. Myer established signal stations at lighthouses, life-saving stations, and elsewhere, wherever they would further his purpose. The success of his system attracted wide attention, and many countries followed the United States in establishing a system of simultaneous observations. Gen. Myer became known the country over as "Old Probabilities," soon shortened into "Old Probs." In his later years he represented his Government at various international congresses. He died at Buffalo, Aug. 24, 1880, and his re-

mains rest in a beautiful mausoleum in Forest Lawn Cemetery.

During its long career, "Phinney's Calendar" was genuinely a product of the press of Cooperstown, and of Buffalo. But oftentimes, editions were printed for customers or publishers in other towns, with their imprint; so that copies of the little old annual are likely to be found, bearing a great variety of publisher's names and places. Of these imprints we note the following: Otsego, Foster & Co., 1819. New Berlin, Levi Blakeslee, 1820; in the '30's, Blakeslee, Toby & Matteson. Otsego, Niven & Co., 1827. Little Falls, Sprague & McKenster, 1828. Utica, H. E. Phinney & Co., 1829. Little Falls, J. C. Dann & Co., 1829. Little Falls, J. C. Smith & Co., 1830. Oxford, George Hunt, 1831; Williams & Hunt, and also Ransom Rathbone, 1835. Monroe, Mich, Edward D. Ellis, 1835. Cazenovia, Mills, Crandall & Moseley, 1851. Syracuse, R. G. Wynkoop & Co., several years, but the stereotype plates for this and many other small publishing houses were made by Beadle & Brother, Buffalo, who made the plates for Phinney & Co. Binghamton, H. E. Pratt & Bro., 1854, 1855, and following years. Syracuse, Hall & Hopkins, 1855. Utica, Tiffany & Arnott, 1856. Little Falls, W. H. Waters, 1859, and later. In 1865, when it was being published in Buffalo, there was an edition imprinted "Cooperstown, N. Y., W. H. Ruggles, publisher." In 1866 and years following, it was similarly sent out by J. B. Galpin of Oxford; by R. Steere of Toddsville; Utica, Davis, Gilbert & Plant, 1869; Norwich, N. Y., Barber & Whitcomb, 1881. No doubt there were others.

When he became publisher of "Phinney's Calendar," the late Peter Paul of Buffalo made an effort to secure copies of it for as many years as possible. Recently his collection was presented to the Buffalo Historical So-

ciety. With a few issues previously owned by the Society, the Paul collection makes up a remarkably full series, lacking only the years 1797, 1799 to 1802, 1823 and 1886. The Society also has numerous duplicates.

As matter of bibliographical record, we note here some other Buffalo almanacs, with no assumption of completeness.

In 1824, Oliver Spafford was publisher and H. A. Salisbury of Buffalo was printer of the "Astronomical Calendar, or Western Almanac," the astronomical calculations being by Loud & Wilmarth. It was calculated "for the meridian and horizon of Buffalo," the location being given at Lat. 42 deg. 50 min. north, Long. 3 deg. 48 min. west from Philadelphia; and this, the reader was assured, "will serve any part of the Western District and Upper Canada." So far as known to the present compiler, this was the first almanac published in Buffalo.

In 1826 appeared the "Farmer's Calendar or Western Almanack," the astronomical calculations for the meridian of Buffalo locating the town in Lat. 42 deg. 30 min. north, Long. 2 deg. 0 min. west from Washington. This was published by R. W. Haskins & Co. In 1832, Haskins' "Farmer's Almanack" located Buffalo in Lat. 42 deg. 52 min. north, Long. 1 deg. 55 min. west from Washington. Loud's calculations were the basis of early almanacs published at Rochester and elsewhere; but before him (1824) Edward Giddins had calculated the "Niagara Almanac," the astronomical work purporting to be reckoned "for the horizon of Niagara Falls." This was printed and published at Lewiston, N. Y., by Oliver Grace, and is today one of the scarcest of the Frontier pamphlets.

In the decade of the '30's, Steele's almanac was a genuine Buffalo institution. The earliest we have seen is "Steele & Faxon's Buffalo Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1832," printed by Steele & Faxon at 214 Main

street. In 1834 and '35 this appeared as "Steele's Buffalo Almanac," published by Oliver G. Steele, Charles Faxon, printer. It is superfluous to remind readers who know old-time Buffalo that Mr. Steele was our first Superintendent of Schools and a notable figure in many phases of the early community life. In 1837 his almanac had become "Steele's Western Almanac," and employed the astronomical calculations of William W. McLouth. In that year it was published by T. & M. Butler, and in 1838 by Steele & Peck. Some years later—1844—we find it entitled simply "Steele's Almanack," the calculations by George R. Perkins, and printed by Steele's Press.

In 1842 appeared Wilgus' Farmers' Almanack, calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, by George R. Perkins of Utica. A. Wilgus was the publisher.

Steele's Press in 1843 sent out a "Free Almanack." Bristol's "Free Almanac" was published that year at Batavia, but from 1845 on for several years it was published in Buffalo (Thomas, printer), becoming in 1848 "Bristol's Sarsaparilla Almanac," the calculations by Horace Martin. It was more elaborate than its local predecessors, having 64 pages, with numerous wood-cuts. C. C. Bristol, the publisher, was a manufacturing druggist whose medicines, as well as his almanac, were long famous.

The early almanacs were primarily calendars; but soon they became advertisements for enterprising firms. Dudley's Almanac, in the '40's was published by T. J. Dudley, who at 105 Main street sold "patent hot air cooking stoves" and, presumably, other hardware. His almanac used the calculations of Prof. George R. Perkins. The only issue of this almanac in the Historical Society library is for 1848 and is marked "eighth edition."

At least two other Buffalo almanacs were issued in 1848: "Breed's Western Almanac," published by F. W. Breed at 188 Main street—afterwards occupied by Phin-

ney & Co., and "The Buffalo Almanac," printed and published by Ansel Warren at the Courier office.

In 1849 "The Franklin Almanac," with a portrait of Benjamin Franklin on the cover, and calculations by Samuel H. Wright, was published by Parmelee & Hadley, who kept the "Buffalo Lamp Store" at 119 Main street, where they sold solar lamps, camphene lamps, girandolles and "a variety of patterns for burning Porter's composition burning fluid;" all of which is reminiscent of the days before kerosene.

Weed's "Hardware Almanac" began about this time, or perhaps a little later. The Historical Society's file begins in 1858. In that year it was issued by DeWitt C. Weed & Co., and printed by George Reese, No. 5 West Seneca street. There were slight changes in the name from time to time; in 1862 it was not issued. In 1878 it was styled "Weed & Van Deventer's Western Almanac;" and later, when the firm became Weed & Co., it was entitled "Weed's Calendar or Western Almanac." A striking feature of these old annuals is that so many of them were styled "western." Weed's almanac was continued until 1883.

In recent years the almanac field has been chiefly left to medicine makers, insurance companies and the newspapers. "Mathews' Universal Almanac" was issued by A. I. Mathews, a druggist at 220 Main street, and in 1860 printed by Sanford, Warren & Harroun. A. I. Mathews was for a time publisher of the *Buffalo Medical Journal*. "Crumb's Almanac and Reference Book," issued by the Niagara Pharmaceutical Co., was a Buffalo publication of 1872, and probably of subsequent years. D. Ransom & Co., long established in Buffalo, for a number of years published "The Magnetic Almanac," a medium of advertising their medical preparations. The Historical Society has it for 1867 and 1868. Foster Milburn & Co., of Buf-

falso have issued the "Burdock Blood Bitters Almanac and Key to Health" (in the '80's, etc). "F. S. Pease's Almanac," or "Pease's Annual," was a familiar visitor in the decade of the '80's. It belongs however to an increasingly-large group of such publications, which possess little local interest—from a bibliographical viewpoint—because the plates were made elsewhere, or the sheets printed elsewhere by wholesale, only a local imprint being added. Of this class, apparently, is the "North America Almanac," which for 1871 has the imprint of Matthews & Warren, Buffalo, but which is primarily devoted to the interests of a Philadelphia insurance company. And so are, or have been, many of the almanacs issued by Buffalo newspapers. The only thing local about many of them is the advertisements, which gather interest with the lapse of years. Notable among them has been the long-continued "Illustrirter Familien-Kalendar," in recent years "Der Hausfreund," sent out annually for well nigh half a century by the *Buffalo Volksfreund*. Perhaps the most elaborate local publication in this class was the Buffalo Courier and Buffalo Enquirer Almanac for 1898, an encyclopaedic compilation of 450 pages, issued as vol. i, No. 1, of a quarterly series. It is not known to have been continued. But the evolution of the old-time almanac into elaborate year-books, or picture albums or advertising pamphlets, has resulted in large degree in the disappearance of the old familiar form. Nowadays the world hangs up a handy wall calendar, and turns to the newspapers for its jokes.

WILLIAM F. SHEEHAN

Notable among gifts recently received by the Buffalo Historical Society are a marble bust and a fine framed portrait of the late Hon. William F. Sheehan, presented by his widow.

Mr. Sheehan, notwithstanding his too early death—in his 58th year—had been long in public service. He had been a member of the New York State Assembly, Speaker of the Assembly, Lieutenant Governor of the State and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1915. He was an unsuccessful candidate for United States Senator in 1911. Born in Buffalo, Nov. 6, 1859, a poor boy, but with a rich endowment of native ability, and a winning way that made him very popular, and early an influence in local politics, he was admitted to the bar at 22, and elected to the Legislature at 25. His death occurred in New York, March 14, 1917.

At the State Capitol, on the evening of January 21, 1919, unusually impressive exercises were held by the Legislature, in memory of Mr. Sheehan. The Hon. Amasa J. Parker presided, and the Governor of the State, members of the Assembly and the Senate, and many distinguished men were in attendance. After an opening prayer by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. J. Lavelle of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, there were addresses and appreciative tributes by the Hon. Andrew T. Beasley, representing the district formerly represented by Mr. Sheehan; by Hon. Jacob A. Cantor, who was President pro tem. of the Senate during the period that Mr. Sheehan served as Lieutenant Governor of the State; and by the Hon. John Woodward of the Supreme Court of the State,

for many years, although not of his political party, a close personal friend of Mr. Sheehan.

Next to Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland, Justice Woodward ranked Mr. Sheehan as Buffalo's most notable contribution to public life. The scholarly address embodied so much of recent New York State history, much of it of peculiar local interest, that it is deemed appropriate to include the following extracts in these pages:

As a leader of his party on the floor of the Assembly, as Speaker and as Lieutenant-Governor he won his office-holding laurels. The times were stormy and he was the storm center. But he stood "four square" and dealt blow for blow, never asking quarter or quailing before opposition, no matter how fierce. Here those attributes of courage and fidelity which gave the coloring to his life were displayed, and now, as time has enlightened and softened the judgments of men, it is within the bounds of truth to say that as a party leader he displayed sagacity and courage of the rarest sort; and that as Speaker and Lieutenant-Governor he ranks among the able few who have presided over the legislative bodies of the State. As a parliamentarian he has not been surpassed.

I heard him deliver his farewell speech when his successor relieved him of the duties of presiding officer of the Senate. His party had met a signal defeat. His great chieftain, David B. Hill, then a United States Senator, was forced to head his party ticket and run for Governor in 1894. His defeat and that of his party was a rout; it did not, however, faze the young Lieutenant-Governor and his speech was forceful, hopeful, defiant—characteristic, and delivered in that determined style which was his.

Mr. Sheehan's legislative career was without a spot or blemish of a financial sort. There was no sordid element

in his composition. He never mixed business with his politics, so now at the age of thirty-five he found himself utterly without fortune and he determined to devote himself to professional labors in the metropolis; so, severing strong neighborhood ties which had existed from his birth and grown stronger with the years, he gave up his Buffalo residence, removed to New York and centered his enthusiasms, his energies and his great abilities on the task of winning a place in the legal profession there.

That unconquerable spirit accompanied him in his new field of endeavor; he grasped his new opportunities firmly, and, step by step, he made his way to professional prominence and leadership and financial independence.

Mr. Sheehan might have excelled as an advocate before juries, for he had the power to persuade and convince; or before the Appellate tribunals, for he grasped as by intuition all the subtleties and fine shades of meaning of the law. In the complexity of modern life, however, it fell to him to assume the role of counselor and organizer. He possessed in large degree the organizing faculty, and made the law firms with which he was associated, factors in the industrial, financial and legal life of his time. He typified a new development in the practice of the law which came in with the industrial enlargement of modern life. He was the sagacious counselor of men dealing with large affairs. He comprehended their problems and could skillfully and wisely solve them, whether legal, industrial or financial.

Men have to compete in their own times, and must submit to the comparisons presented then. More talent of the first order is attracted to the New York City bar than elsewhere in this country. In this environment Mr. Sheehan attained a position among the very first in professional importance and standing.

In 1892 as a delegate to the national Democratic con-

vention, he co-operated with the friends of Governor David B. Hill and sought to bring about that statesman's nomination for the presidency. That was, however, not to be, and instead Grover Cleveland became for the third time the party's choice for that high honor.

Chairman of the campaign committee during the contest that followed Mr. Sheehan gave such energetic, intelligent and effective support to the cause, that he won a nation-wide reputation as a political manager who comprehended in the largest sense the issues which were at stake. This was the beginning of that reconciliation between Mr. Sheehan and Mr. Cleveland which finally led to the bestowal by the latter of this cordial and sympathetic praise: "I do not know of any other man in our politics who has grown more rapidly, shown himself more independent, or has impressed me more with his capacity for usefulness if he should ever return to public life."

While Mr. Sheehan devoted himself assiduously to the law after removing to New York City, he could not altogether sever his connection with politics, and the upheaval in the Democratic party in 1896 greatly moved him.

The only time in his career that he refused to abide by the action of a Democratic convention was after the national convention of 1896. His strong business sense led him to the belief that the financial policies to which Mr. Bryan had by matchless courage and eloquence committed his party could but lead to national disaster, and he boldly proclaimed, "My duty is clear to me. When the Democratic roll of honor is called I desire to be among those who had the courage to refuse to follow the banner of Populism, falsely labeled Democracy."

I am not here to thresh out the conflicting views of members of the Democratic party, but I know that Mr.

Sheehan was so intensely imbued with the thought that the historic party to which he belonged should be turned from the path of what he deemed financial heresy, that prior to the national convention of 1904, by untiring and intelligent effort, he made himself the undisputed national leader of the gold-standard Democrats and brought about the nomination of Alton B. Parker, the able Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, for President, on a gold-standard platform.

It was in this campaign more than at any other period that Mr. Sheehan displayed, what all impartial men now admit he possessed, that wide and deep understanding of the large problems of national life, which entitled him to rank as a statesman of a high order.

Mr. Sheehan was a most useful member of the Constitutional Convention of 1915, but, though he did not realize it, his health was then being undermined by the insidious disease which caused him so much suffering, which he so patiently bore. I saw him once during that long final illness. I shall never forget it. He was weak and emaciated and a shade of sadness was in that wonderful smile, but no word of complaint or bitterness escaped him. He loved life. He wanted to live, but he did not fear the end or shrink from it. His courage and faith were alike supreme.

In an address to his fellow citizens of Buffalo years after he left there, when his political fortunes were in the balance he said of his early career:

"Thirty-five years of my life were spent with you. You saw me enter political life with every thing a young man desires except money. You saw me leave it ten years later with nothing but political scars."

This was written in connection with his honorable aspirations to represent the State of New York in the Senate of the United States and at a time when the op-

position to his candidacy had assumed formidable proportions. Personally, I do not regard Mr. Sheehan's failure to be selected for the Senate to have materially lessened his prestige, although it might be said that in the stirring times which were to confront the country, his great abilities might have been of incalculable service to the Nation and the world. It will be recalled that at once, upon the breaking out of hostilities in Europe, he grasped their full significance and boldly took his place with the radical element of the country who felt that the entrance of the United States into the war was not only necessary but most desirable.

In 1910, his party had come into power in New York by the election of John A. Dix as Governor and an unexpected Democratic Legislature. The legislative result was not so unexpected to Mr. Sheehan, however, as he had frequently remarked that his political intuitions and calculations led him to believe that the Democrats would gain the Legislature as well as the governorship that year. Immediately after this result was assured, Mr. Sheehan's name was constantly in the public mind and press as the most available successor to Chauncey M. Depew. At once, those forces of opposition and of discord, which so frequently characterize great political parties, were aroused, and, despite the time, energy, and talent which Mr. Sheehan had devoted to his party, it became apparent that he could not receive this high office and honor without a vexatious contest. The large proportions which the struggle was to assume were not, however, fully appreciated until the night before the meeting day of the Legislature of 1911, when it developed that a minority of the Democrats in the Senate and Assembly would, under no circumstances, consent to his selection. To his honor and credit it may be said that there was not the slightest suggestion of opposition based upon any

question affecting the character, integrity, or ability of Mr. Sheehan. It was purely the expression of the rival forces within his party and the intense opposition to political control by an organization which for generations had given the up-State Democrats a rallying slogan for unity against the statewide domination of its leaders. This situation was in no wise lessened by the fact that in association with David B. Hill, Mr. Sheehan had been for many years the most virile opponent of Tammany Hall, nor is it inconceivable that had the New York leaders selected Mr. Edward M. Shepard as their candidate, the Independent forces would have rallied to Mr. Sheehan's standard, just as occurred in Greater New York when Mr. Shepard was the regular Tammany candidate for mayor and thereby suffered the loss of the support of the old-time Independents with whom he had enjoyed life-long relations. Two days before the Democratic caucus chose Mr. Sheehan as the party candidate for Senator—appreciating the intensity and formidable character of the opposition—he offered in the interest of harmony to retire if the other candidate would do so. This proposal being ignored or declined, after a large majority of the members of the Legislature—by a vote of sixty-two to twenty-nine—had selected him, he refused to withdraw. In this connection, it will be remembered that it was seriously proposed that a minority of Republican members would join with the Democratic majority in electing Mr. Sheehan, but that he discountenanced such a plan and positively refused to be the recipient of its execution, thus revealing his party fealty and his personal delicacy of feeling. In analyzing the forces of opposition, Mr. Sheehan argued that,

“The votes I am now receiving outside of Greater New York represent more than one-half of the total Democratic representation from up-State districts, the re-

mainder of the up-State votes being scattered among eight other Democrats."

In answer to the charge made by other corporation lawyers that he was a corporation lawyer, he replied with vigor, enunciating the highest ethical conception of professional and public service in this sentence:

"It should be no bar to public office that a lawyer faithfully serves his client, corporate or individual; the only lawyer who should be barred from public office is the one who betrays his client, individual, corporate, or public."

He clearly revealed his understanding of the training required and the humanitarian instincts which should be inspired if a public man would be of real service to the government and the people when he declared that:

"No man in this country should aspire to high public station who has not studied the history and development of popular government; no man is fully equipped for great public service whose heart does not cry out against wrong and oppression and whose soul does not dwell in the midst of struggling humanity wherever it is found."

His truly Democratic conception of popular government is clearly discerned in his statement, that

"I believe that the principal development of legislation should follow the intelligent, matured, and deliberate convictions of the people."

Notwithstanding this, he frowned upon all demagogic appeals, and that he appreciated their sinister effects was made clear in this bold declaration:

"I have no respect for the man whose official acts are timed for the applause of the moment, but I admire the official who has the intelligence and courage to forego the applause of the hour for the commendation of the future. I admire the public servant who, regardless of consequences, attempts to lead the public away from the

worship of false doctrines and from the approval of ill-considered action. Such men are becoming more necessary every day as specious but false doctrines are being disseminated through the increasing facilities of the printing press, the telegraph, and the telephone. I love the man who loves politics in its best and fullest sense, no matter to what party he belongs."

It having been impossible to reconcile the opposition to Mr. Sheehan he voluntarily released his supporters in the Legislature from further obligation to vote for him, and retired with undaunted spirit from the contest. It comes from the lips of many of the men associated in opposition to him in that memorable contest, that Mr. Sheehan grew in their estimation by the firmness of his purpose and the modesty and courtesy of his bearing, and that had he lived he undoubtedly would have received from or through them a recognition which at that time was withheld. Curiously, Mr. Sheehan always felt that his defeat for Senator was brought about by those whose political views, financial relations, professional standards, and national aspirations were similar to his own.

He harbored no malice toward those who opposed him; yet he never ceased to feel a certain contempt for some who during the contest gave patriotic reasons for what he thought an unmanly course.

With such a closing of his active public life, for such it was save for his service in the Constitutional Convention, some might say that there is an incompleteness which adds to the sense of shock and loss, but I am sure it would not have been his wish that his eulogist should touch a doleful chord on his memorial day. To be sure, he "passed beyond our horizon" at what seemed only the midday, but his philosophy and religion had taught him that we live in achievements, "not in figures on a dial."

Mr. Sheehan loved books and read much, especially of

history and biography. He made a special study of the career of Napoleon Bonaparte, and had the most minute knowledge of his life. He possessed many volumes of Napoleonic literature and the autographs and souvenirs of that great man which he had collected he jealously treasured.

Mr. Sheehan's reading, however, was characteristic of him. When in the later years and especially during his long illness he read to pass the time pleasantly he turned to old authors that he knew in his youth and read over again the works of Walter Scott, Washington Irving and Charles Lever.

In 1904, LaSalle, the Christian Brother College at St. Louis, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

For all his years of political and professional activity, his industry was marvelous, his magnetism unfailing, his integrity unquestioned. The fidelity of his friends in good fortune and in dark days attested the quality of loyalty in himself which, and only which, can insure the faithfulness of others.

Governor Hill had early admired the force, the winning personality and the exceptional ability of Mr. Sheehan, and with his genius for drawing young men to his standard, he early received the homage of Mr. Sheehan. That he should have espoused the cause of Mr. Hill for President in 1892 and should have become in large degree the political legatee of that eminent statesman and strategist in the affairs of his party in New York State was most natural. Both of these men looked upon politics as something not to be ridiculed, but something to be studied as the very science of government, and both had the same notion that the only way to understand government or to learn the law is to study the one and practice the other. Mr. Sheehan was, above all, a practical statesman, leader, and lawyer, and understood the art of

accomplishing results with the least possible circumlocution.

A high testimonial to his vision is revealed in an address in the fall of 1910, in which he stated that out of the contention of the times he hoped there would be evolved

"An International Court that will settle controversies between nations as our own Supreme Court disposes of disputes between these States."

Had his views of international duty and relation been as deeply and generally appreciated then as now, the world might have been saved from the horrors of the greatest war in history.

It would be indelicate to discuss the ideal family relation which Mr. Sheehan bore, which, like his religious life and experience, was his sacred possession, untainted by hypocrisy and beautiful in its simplicity and nobility.

Proud of his Americanism he was also proud of the race from which he sprang, and who better than he illustrated its shining and sterling qualities, or possessed more strikingly that sense of humor, command of wit, eloquence of expression, and gift of achievement which have made the Irish name beloved throughout the world?

And what better than his career illustrates the true grandeur of America in affording opportunities for growth in spirit and character to work out a high destiny.

The maturity of his powers and the perfection of his manners qualified him for any legislative, diplomatic, or executive post, and the strength, kindliness, and simplicity of his character will make his memory revered among that multitude of friends who knew and loved him.

DOCUMENTS OF EARLY DAYS

LETTERS OF JOHN HADDOCK.—The Buffalo Historical Society recently received from Mrs. Elizabeth H. Mulligan, of Auburn, Cal., the original manuscript of the first letter which follows. It is headed "Buffalo, County of Niagary an State of N. York," the date having been apparently first written "January 7th, 1815," then changed to the 15th; and then—the writer evidently being in doubt as to the day of the month, these figures were crossed off and no correction inserted.

The writer of these letters was John Haddock, a pioneer of Buffalo. His father was Charles Haddock of Haverhill, Mass., and among his children were C. C. Haddock, Joseph E. Haddock, and Mrs. S. M. Judson of Buffalo. John Haddock's bake-shop, in December, 1813, when the village was burned, was on the site afterwards covered by the first and second American Hotels, and now by the southerly end of the American Block, occupied by the Adam, Meldrum & Anderson store. His house, at the time of the burning, was on Pearl street north of Eagle, his store was on the west side of Main above Eagle and his hat store on the southeast corner of Main and Swan streets.

The letters which follow were written to his brother Daniel, at Lynn, Mass., and were long preserved by the firm of Haddock, Lincoln & Foss, Boston, Mass. About 60 years ago they came into the possession of Lorenzo K. Haddock, nephew of John Haddock. The present whereabouts of the second letter is not known to the editor of this volume. It is here reprinted from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of April 7, 1866. The first letter is one of the most vivid accounts we have of conditions in Buffalo consequent on the burning. The second letter admirably supplements this with a picture of recovered prosperity. John Haddock died in Buffalo September 30, 1818. In printing the first letter, here copied from the original, many peculiarities of spelling, etc., have not been followed:

BUFFALO, January —, 1815, County of Niagary an State
of N. York.

Dear Brother—It is now a long time since I have either heard or seen you or any other of my own brothers and perhaps it is

not the desire of any of my brothers to hear from me. However be that as it will I shall now take the liberty to trouble you with a few sketches of my life and position since I last saw you which was in April 1811.

At that time I had the idea and had made my arrangements to traverse this western world and find some place where I should get red of the law & lawyers who had almost sacrificed all the remains of my little property which I sold at Bath, N. H. and together with my partner at Connecticut and some bonds at the bank & some bonds to my old Father Cpt Kimball I determined to give them all a final farewell which I did on the 15 day of May 1811 and laid my course for Buffalo at the outlet of Lake Erie which has become the seat of war & bloodshed. It is about 18 miles above the Great Niagara Falls. Here I calculated to spend my years and days if possible. I arrived here with my family the 10th of August with 18 dollars only left and immediately set up the chair making business for a living and finding the business very good I hired hands & drove it on until October 1812 when the war raged in this part and every thing on to Detroit and along the lake shore was in such commotion that I thought best to quit the chair making business and accordingly did and took up baking and keeping a small grocery with a capital of only 3 barrels flour, my family being all well & work enough to do cooking victuals & washing for clothes for 6 pence per piece.

In the course of one year we had gained a very handsome property, a decent house and together with what clothing & bedding & other articles we were in a very handsome way once more of living. Had plenty of everything to live on and had a small grocery besides worth \$500 and about \$300 cash although we had all this time lived in constant alarm and fear of the enemy & their allies the savages who were continually harrassing our frontier and every other distress which are the general consequences of or in any place where troops and hospitals &c, together with sick & the wounded continually coming in together with an epidemic disorder which in 1812 prevailed to such a degree that some days I made from 6 to 8 coffins per day.

We all stood the times with a determination to stand it out, knowing that we had no other place of abode under heaven. We tarried here in Buffalo until that fatal day in the morning of the 30th of December 1813 when those infernal hell hounds

with all the Indians they could raise crossed the Niagara river and our militia which was then about three thousand fled before the enemy and they advanced into the town of Buffalo and my family just being out of bed I left my bake house and together with my family we all fled leaving everything we had in the world to the mercy of those merciless British troops & Indians who were killing and scalping everything they met. We left our house about 20 minutes before the savages entered it and after pillaging everything they set the house on fire and consumed everything in town and now behold a brother of yours with a wife & six children in a cold severe day driven out from their home and traveling on foot on the beach of the lake where the sharp sands soon cut out my wife's shoes and I was obliged to pull off my own to keep her from suffering. 15 miles this cold day with my little family did me out, carrying in my arms my youngest child and after being wearied almost to death I had one of my knees so lame I could not stand upright nor move it the next day without the greatest pain. Here for the first night in a stranger's house we encamped on the floor with only two blankets which was all we had saved from the fire & sword. Nothing but poverty appeared before us & nothing but death and destruction in the completest degree behind us. What a thought. Rising in the morning and taking a poor breakfast not knowing which way to steer our course, nor what to do for our support. However after deliberation, knowing that industry never fails of giving support we all set out again on foot, not knowing where to go, but only to get further off from the Indians & British, we travelled all that day together with many of our neighbors. One of my little children, about 3 years old, was carried off and we did not see her for 3 weeks, & put up in a log house with a good fire and plenty of pork & potatoes & Indian Johnny cake.

Here I left my family and the next day I returned to Buffalo to view the ruined town. I that night about 12 o'clock with another young lad went carefully into the town where the fire had not yet quite done burning and the dead inhabitants and soldiers lay all over town and no one had yet been picked up. In looking round where the hat factory had been burnt I found a hat which I gladly put on my head for I had none on. The weather was exceedingly cold. I then went to my house and dug up in my cellar bottom what little cash I had buried which was all we had to buy everything we stood in need of and not

having a second shift of clothing for any one of my family nor myself what we had was soon spent and gone. But thank God and secondly good friends we got an opportunity of baking for the army and it now gives us a tolerable good support & by the dint of industry and good fortune am able to live in pretty good style.

I have now just moved my family home again. For the second time they have been gone from me five months. We come into Buffalo to live last April and the gallant army under Generals Brown & Scott encamped in town until the 4th July when they crossed the river & took Fort Erie and advanced down the Niagara to Chippewa and had a battle, very severe. Immediately after on the 25th July another battle was fought & the next day the British received reinforcements which our troops thought proper to retreat back to Fort Erie. Again the alarm spread through town. Everything in motion. I had two days previous been apprehensive of what would take place and to be on the sure side I sent my family on to the eastward of Buffalo 80 miles and everything of value which we had got since the fire and I myself staid behind and have not seen them until last Thursday.

Everything at present seems to be tolerable peaceable. The British got such a drubbing this season that I think we shall not have a visit from them this winter. We have now about 3000 troops here, and I expect they will guard us this winter.

It is uncertain whether I ever shall visit that place which we so many times have enjoyed ourselves together. Those youthful days were days which we never can see again. Time passes rapidly on and I am now 38 years old and an expensive family to support by industry. I should be very glad to hear from you & from James and your families and from my old townsmen & mates. As for William I do not expect he either knows or cares for me. I owe him nothing nor never will since he pres'd me in Law to gratify his Federal neighbors. I shall write to James, for perhaps one or the other may fail of getting to you. If it should, show this to James & his family. My love and friendship to you and your family & to James & his family. Tell me who is dead & everything that is strange and you will much oblige your friend and brother. My family all send their love & compliments to you & family

Adieu dear brother

JOHN HADDOCK.

BUFFALO, September 8, 1817.

. . . I have been in trade since the war. I have a good stand and go twice a year to New York, which is about five hundred miles, to purchase goods. I generally have on hand, twice a year, when my goods arrive, about ten thousand dollars worth. I think my trade as good with one or two exceptions as any in the district. I have always been able to keep my credit good and in New York, and have the vanity to believe I shall do so if no unforeseen accident should happen. I have a good house and lot well furnished, worth in cash \$5,000, and a good decent store worth, say \$1,500; two five acre lots situate on Main street of the village, worth, I suppose, \$3,000; an out lot, one mile and a fourth from the village, containing 85 acres, will fetch \$2000. Have a small farm, 8 miles from Buffalo, of 100 acres, 20 under improvement. Raised this year about 100 bushels of wheat; cut 10 tons of hay; shall probably have 300 or 400 bushels of potatoes. Keep three cows and two horses. We are now in the greatest expectation of having our loss made up to us by the Government the next session; Should that take place, I shall probably get rising of \$4,000, which will come in good time as money is scarce. I shall calculate to come to see you next summer, if I get my claims on Government. . . .

JOHN HADDOCK.

EARLY TRAVEL ON LAKE ERIE.—The following is a portion of a letter by James Wetherell, dated "Detroit, Sept. 15, 1815:

I arrived at Buffalo on the 19th of August [1815], and was detained till the 21st, for want of a vessel. On that day I sailed in a little vessel called the *Experiment*. The little dirty cabin was crowded with several women, six men and a dog. During the night we ran past Presqu' Isle—Erie—some 20 miles, and as some of the passengers were to have been landed there they chose to be put on shore opposite the vessel and get back as they could. They were landed. Among them was the famous Barnebas Bidwell. On the 20th we ran into the mouth of the Grand River in a gale of wind. The mouth of the river was then three or four rods wide. The wind changed, and soon raised the sandbar at its mouth, which prevented the vessel getting out, and in this condition we lay till the 6th of September—16 days—when Major Marston, and Lieut. Ballard of the army; Messrs. Bell and Kane, of Buffalo, and myself—as the prospect of getting

out within the next 10 or 15 days was uncertain—concluded to hire a man to take us in the wagon to Cuyahoga—Cleveland.

Our baggage was sent on shore to the wagon, but in going myself I was jostled out of the boat into deep water and was compelled to swim some distance. Of course I was thoroughly wet. It was about sunset and we had several miles to go. The teamster said the road was plain, and I walked on ahead. When I had gone far enough to feel sure that I was not on the right road, being surrounded by a dense wilderness and no habitation to be seen, I began to retrace my steps. I had walked several miles. The cold night air and my dripping clothes had benumbed my shivering limbs. After a while I discovered a light, and procured a boy for my guide, and after seven or eight miles walking over a very soft muddy road, I found the wagon.

Arriving at Cleveland, I found that there was but one way to proceed to Detroit, and that was to charter a small schooner, which we did for forty dollars and sailed next morning, September 8th. We ran to Black River, stopped about an hour, and sailed again about ten o'clock at night, some 20 miles towards Sandusky; but the captain not knowing the coast, was obliged to run back to Black River on account of head wind, where we remained till the 12th of September. On that day we sailed to the mouth of the Vermillion, but could not enter on account of a sand-bar. We ran into a small creek and lay till daylight. On the 13th we reached the islands. Here a violent storm of thunder and lightning, wind and rain, set in, which placed our little bark in imminent peril. Here we found ourselves out of provisions, and in attempting to leave, the wind drove us back. We went on shore to look for food, but the island being uninhabited, and we having no guns or fishing tackle, we got nothing but a few small hard peaches, which were divided among us. At night two men were sent on shore to get some sassafras bark or spice bush, to make a drink of, but the men found none. The captain then advised that some buttonwood bark should be procured, which was done, and being boiled an hour or two in an old ash kettle, we fell to drinking. To me it was serviceable, as I was suffering from fever, occasioned by long fatigue and exposure. In the course of the night the wind became favorable to lay our course to Malden. After being two hours under way a violent storm arose and our vessel sprang a leak in a place where it could not be stopped; and after our sails had been split to pieces by the wind, we were driven on the Canada

shore, near the new settlement below Malden. Here we found a house, and stayed all night, and in the morning we hired a man to take us up to Malden, and there another was employed to take us up the river, and we landed at Captain Knaggs' on the 19th of September."

The writer of the above letter was a native of Mansfield, Mass., where he was born in 1759. He served in Washington's army during the Revolution, fought at Saratoga and Monmouth, and was adjutant of the Eleventh Massachusetts regiment when the army was disbanded in 1783. In 1803 he was appointed a Judge of the Territory of Michigan, which office he held some 20 years. At the time of the incidents above related he was 56 years old. Judge Wetherell had served a term in Congress, being elected in 1807. His death occurred Jan. 8, 1838.

MAIL SERVICE IN 1812.—Among old-time documents in the keeping of the Buffalo Historical Society is the following, relative to mail delivery between Buffalo and Erie in 1812:

Articles of Agreement made & concluded the 26th day of September, 1812, between Caleb Hopkins of the one part, & Richard Williams & James Adkins of the other part:—Whereas the said Hopkins has contracted with the Post Master General, to carry & convey the mail from Buffaloe in the State of New York, to Erie in the State of Pennsylvania & to return from Erie to Buffaloe twice in each week during one year from this date:—And Whereas the said Williams & Adkins, in consideration of One thousand three hundred dollars, to be paid to them by the said Hopkins, as hereafter mentioned have engaged to carry & convey the mail as above mentioned

Now therefore, This Agreement witnesseth that the said Williams & Adkins have agreed, & by these presents do covenant, promise & agree, in consideration of the said sum of One thousand three hundred dollars, to be paid as hereafter mentioned, faithfully to carry & convey the mail, twice in each week, during one year from & after this date, from Buffalo aforesaid to Erie aforesaid, & to return with the mail from Erie aforesaid to Buffaloe aforesaid, twice in the same week, during the said year, according to the contract, which the said Hopkins shall make with the Post Master General or his Agent. The said Williams & Adkins have received of said Hopkins, three horses & one saddle, amounting to One hundred and ninety four dol-

lars, in part payment of the aforesaid sum. And the said Hopkins hereby promises to pay the said Williams & Adkins One hundred dollars, in twenty days from this date; and the residue of the said sum first mentioned, viz. One thousand and six dollars, in quarterly payments as the same shall be received from the Post Office Department. To the true & faithful performance of all & singular the covenants promises & agreements aforesaid the said parties do hereby bind themselves, his & their heirs, executors & administrators, each to the other, his & their heirs, executors, administrators & assigns, in the penal Sum of One thousand dollars firmly by these presents Witness our hands & seals the day & year first above written.

The above agreement was witnessed by I. Houghton, Caleb Hopkins, Richard Williams, James Adkins and one other whose signature is illegible.

EDITORIAL NOTES

BUFFALO IN THE WORLD WAR.—The municipal government of Buffalo appropriated funds for the publication of a history of the participation of Buffalo and Erie County in the World War. The work was prepared by a committee of one hundred, edited by Daniel J. Sweeney, Buffalo City Clerk, and issued in 1919 under the somewhat misleading title, "History of Buffalo and Erie County, 1914-1919." The scope of the work includes only the participation of this community in the war, or an account of activities related to the war. As such, it is an admirable record, handsomely printed and made still more valuable and attractive by a wealth of illustrations. It may be questioned, whether any American city produced a finer or more creditable record of its part in the great struggle.

From the beginning of America's participation in the war, the Buffalo Historical Society kept a card list of Buffalo men and women engaged in war activities. For the lists of killed, gassed and wounded, died in hospital, etc., the Society's lists were checked up with the official lists as published at Washington. These and other records were placed at the service of Mr. Sweeney and his assistants. At the close of the year 1919, in response to an enquiry from the President of the Historical Society, Mr. Sweeney wrote as follows:

CITY CLERK'S DEPARTMENT, BUFFALO
DECEMBER 29, 1919

Hon. HENRY W. HILL,

President, Buffalo Historical Society:

MY DEAR SENATOR—In conformity with your suggestion I have outlined here just what the City did in the matter of obtaining a record of the men and women of Buffalo who served in the Military and Naval branches of the United States Government during the World War. The total number of whom we have a definite record is 18,959. We have draft board records which tend to show that possibly a few more than two thousand in excess of that number entered the service from Buffalo, but as we have been unable to find any record of their residence or of

relatives here, we have concluded that, for the most part, they were men employed temporarily in Buffalo, or working on the Great Lakes who happened to be here at the time of the registration under the Selective Service Act, commonly known as the Draft Law. Those of us who were closely connected with that draft work can readily appreciate that a large number of men whose residences were outside of the City registered here; in fact, upwards of seven thousand men were registered at the City Clerk's Office and their registration cards were forwarded to addresses outside of this city.

Inasmuch as the Federal Government has made no effort to localize its records, it will probably be some time before the actual, definite, number of men, bonafide residents of Buffalo, will be set down, but for present purposes it is sufficient to say that approximately 21,000 men entered the service of the Army, Navy, Marines and Red Cross from the City of Buffalo, and, of that number, we have the complete record of 18,959, divided as follows:

Army	10,624
108th Infantry	793
106th Field Artillery	527
U. S. Marines	1,173
U. S. Navy	3,791
Killed in Action, Died of Wounds or Disease..	951
Red Cross	1,100

We have included in the 108th Infantry those who served overseas with that regiment through the Mt. Kemmel, Hindenburg Line and St. Souplet engagements, and have included in the 106th Field Artillery, the Buffalo men who went overseas with that regiment and, particularly those who took part in the artillery's co-operation with the 33rd Division in the Meuse-Argonne engagement, in the vicinity of Verdun.

In the Red Cross we have included the Y. M. C. A., K. of C., and Jewish Welfare Secretaries, and the Buffalo Chaplains.

We have this roster in a card index giving the service of each individual, so far as that has been obtainable. Every effort was made to complete this roster, return postal cards being distributed by the police to every home in the City, and a publicity campaign conducted through the local newspapers, urging relatives and friends to send the desired information to the City Clerk's Office. The *News* and *Times* published, on several oc-

casions, blank forms indicating the information desired, but we believe that with the completion of the War History and the general distribution of that publication, an additional number of names will be obtained and possibly the Washington records will shortly be in such shape that a comparison may be made and an historically accurate record established.

Very truly yours,

D. J. SWEENEY,

City Clerk.

The report of the local navy recruiting office for 1919 showed that a total of 2356 men were accepted for service. More than 2000 who applied for enlistment were rejected for failing to meet physical requirements.

WAR MEMORIALS AT ST. PAUL'S.—Notable among memorials of the World War which have been erected in Buffalo are three tablets, unveiled and dedicated at St. Paul's Episcopal Church on Trinity Sunday, May 30, 1920. Relics of the war, set in the wall, accompany two of the tablets. The inscriptions on them are as follows:

The Rheims Tablet

THIS FRAGMENT OF THE HIGH ALTAR OF NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS, SHATTERED BY GERMAN SHELL FIRE, IS THE GIFT OF THE SENIOR CHAPLAIN OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES, THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES H. BRENT, D. D. IT IS ENSHRINED IN THE SANCTUARY OF SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH AS A MEMORIAL OF THE FAITH AND ENDURANCE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, WHO AT UNTOLD COST TO THEMSELVES SAVED THE LIBERTIES OF MANKIND.

"ON NE PASSE PAS"

ERECTED MEMORIAL DAY, MAY 30, 1920.

The Ypres Tablet

THIS FRAGMENT OF A PILLAR OF THE CLOTH HALL AT YPRES, SHATTERED BY GERMAN SHELL FIRE, IS THE GIFT OF THE SENIOR CHAPLAIN OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES, THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES H. BRENT, D. D. IT IS EMBEDDED IN THE WALLS OF SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH AS A MEMORIAL OF THE VALOR OF THE BELGIAN NATION, WHO HELD HONOR ABOVE SAFETY, AND TURNED TRAGEDY INTO TRIUMPH.

"HORUM OMNIUM FORTISSIMI SUNT BELGAE."

ERECTED MEMORIAL DAY, MAY 30, 1920.

The Soldiers' Memorial Tablet

THE CITY OF BUFFALO

SENT 18,893 MEN TO SERVE IN THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918
AND 851 BUFFALO MEN MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE OF
THEIR LIVES.

THE HONOR ROLL OF SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH CONTAINS THE
NAMES OF 130 MEN AND OF 7 WOMEN WHO SERVED
IN THIS WAR.

THIS TABLET IS PLACED IN PROUD AND GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF
FREDERICK ALLEN BALLACHEY, GORDON CAMERON FREELAND,
JAMES GARD FERGUSON, PHILIP ROBERTSON,
HARRY OAKES FERGUSON, WALTER JOHN PHILLIPS,
HARRY GROVER THEISZ.

MEN OF THIS PARISH WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR
COUNTRY AND FOR LIBERTY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS.

"GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS,
THAT A MAN LAY DOWN HIS LIFE FOR HIS FRIENDS."

MEMORIAL OF THE 100TH N. Y. VOLS.—Buffalo has not hitherto been rich in public monuments and memorials, but in recent years several notable ones have appeared and more are in preparation. One simple but effective monument which is pictured in this volume is the memorial boulder set up at the Front, adjoining the grounds of Fort Porter, in memory of the 100th Regiment, New York Volunteers, Buffalo's "Board of Trade Regiment" during the Civil War. It was dedicated and unveiled Sept. 25, 1916, by the 100th N. Y. Veteran Association. It is a rough-dressed granite block set in a circular granite curb, and bearing bronze tablets on its two principal sides. One of them reads as follows:

"To commemorate the patriotism of the 100th New York Volunteer Infantry, Civil War, 1861-1865, organized at Fort Porter, Buffalo, New York, January 7, 1862, Colonel James M. Brown in command. Departed for active service March 7, 1862, numbering 960 men, rank and file. Participated in the Peninsular Campaign with heavy losses, among them Colonel Brown, killed at Fair Oaks, Virginia, May 31, 1862. Regiment adopted July 29, 1862, by Buffalo Board of Trade, who recruited and sent to regiment 956 men. Colonel George B. Dandy, U. S. Army, took command in August, 1862. At the fall of Petersburg, April 2, 1865, Major James H. Dandy, in command, was killed while planting the colors on Fort Gregg. The regiment was mustered out of service at Richmond, Virginia, August 28, 1865.

"Erected by survivors and friends. Dedicated at annual reunion of the 100th New York Veterans Association September 25. 1916. See other tablet and historical record in Historical Society Building."

The tablet on the opposite face gives the regimental record as follows:

"In memory of 100th New York Volunteer Infantry, Civil War, 1861-1865. Battles and losses, from 'Fox's History of the Rebellion': Yorktown, Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Bottoms Bridge, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Virginia; Folly Island, Cole's Island, Morris Island, night assault on Fort Wagner, siege of Fort Wagner, South Carolina; Bermuda Hundred, Walthall Junction, Proctor's Creek, Drury's Bluff, Strawberry Plains, Deep Bottom, Siege of Petersburg, Chaffin's Farm, Darbytown Road, Second Fair Oaks, Fort Gregg, Appomattox. Killed 120; wounded 498; missing 288: total 906."

A tabulated statement of losses, follows, and a reference to the historical data preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

PERIODICAL PRESS OF BUFFALO.—In Vol. XIX of these Publications was published a list of Buffalo periodicals from 1811 to 1915. A supplementary list, in Vol. XXII, gave a few early publications not noted in the preceding list, and made note of publications started since that volume was issued. Of the starting of new periodicals there probably never will be an end, at any rate while our present social system continues. The following list, therefore, makes record of such local papers and magazines as have been learned of, which are not already listed in these volumes. Nearly all, it will be observed, have been launched since the volume for 1918 was printed; and already, it may also be observed, a goodly number of them have passed into the limbo of departed journalistic spirits. The "*" indicates that the publication is preserved, though sometimes by only one or two issues, in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

**The Arrow*. 1918. Monthly, "In the interest of the members of the organization of the Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Co." Allan C. Werner, ed. 4to, ill. In 1919, W. M. Baldwin, ed.

**Association Forum*. July, 1920. Quarterly, under auspices of the executive committee, North American Employed Officers, Assn, Y. M. C. A. Publication office, Y. M. C. A. bldg, 45 West Mohawk st. A. H. Whitford, editor-in-chief.

- **The Bulletin*. Mch, 1920. "A monthly fraternal magazine," succeeding the *Odd-Fellows' Bulletin*. Louis Debo, publisher, The Hampshire Press, 319 Hampshire st. 4to.
- **The Bulletin*, by the University Club of Buffalo. Mch, 1920. Occasional. O. B. Bruce, Jr., ed. Half-sheet at first.
- Bulletin of the Buffalo College of Pharmacy*. May, 1916. Quarterly, by the Dept. of Pharmacy, Univ. of Buffalo.
- **Buffalo Scout Trail*. Jan. 1, 1917. Weekly. Official publication Buffalo Council, Boy Scouts of America. M. H. Rechtenwalt, ed., 206 D. S. Morgan building.
- **The Build for Buffalo Bulletin*. Daily or occasional; Vol. vi., Oct., 1920; published by the Publicity Dept., University of Buffalo Endowment Committee in the interest of the "Build-for-Buffalo" campaign. 4to, colored heading.
- **The Central Park News*. Aug. 14, 1919. Weekly. W. H. Williamson, ed. and pub., 319 Hampshire st. 4 pp., 6 col. pr. page.
- Chat*. By the Buffalo Assn of Credit Men.
- **The Buffalo Chatterbox*. Jan., 1920. Every Saturday by the Citizens Pub. Co., 503 Brisbane Bldg.
- **The Community Chorus*. Nov., 1918. A weekly accompaniment of the "community chorus" meetings at Hutchinson High School and elsewhere, Harry Barnhart, director. 8vo. 5 cts. Miss Grace Viele, 218 Highland av.
- **The Curtiss Fuselage*. 1918. Weekly. A shop paper published by the educational dept. of the Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation. Fay L. Fayrote, editor.
- Erie Co. Farm & Home Bureau News*. 1914 [?]. Vol. VI, No. 5, June, 1920. Monthly. 70 W. Chippewa st.
- **Fort Porter Reporter*. Jan. 31, 1919. Weekly, for men in service at U. S. A. general hospital No. 4, Fort Porter, Buffalo. 4to, ill. 1st Lieut. Frank A. Stockwell, *et al.*, eds. First issue had interrogation point for heading. Pictorial heading adopted Feb. 14. Last issue Oct. 3.
- **Genesee Conference Deaconess*. Vol. 1, new series, March, 1920. Published bi-monthly in the interests of the Genesee Conference Deaconess work. Rev. Henry A. Reed, Elma, ed. Publication office, 484 Delaware ave., Buffalo. 12mo, with cover.
- **The Grosvenor Library Bulletin*. Quarterly. Sept., 1918. 8 vo, pp. 32. Published by the Grosvenor Library. George Hibbard, editor.
- **Hearthstones*. 1920. Monthly. Illustrated trade publication by Hersee & Co., Ellicott st.

- **Buffalo Híradó* (*Buffalo Herald*). July, 1920. "A Hungarian weekly for the Magyars of Buffalo and vicinity." Published every Saturday at 1978 Niagara st. by A. G. Meyers and Michael Kosztin. Editor, Michael Kosztin. Pp. 8, 6 col. per page, engraved heading showing a bison.
- **Hobbies*. June, 1920. Monthly, by the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences. 8vo, ill. Public Library building, Buffalo.
- **The Jewish Review*. Oct., 1920. Monthly by the Jewish Review Co., Brisbane Bldg. Formerly the *American Jewish Review*, started as a weekly at Atlanta, Ga., 1913; removed to Buffalo where it first appeared Nov. 9, 1917, that issue being vol. ix, No. 1. The first issue under the style, *The Jewish Review*, was vol. xii, No. 2.
- Knights of Malta Bulletin*, State of New York. Sept., 1918. Monthly, by Sir Knights of Ancient Malta. John J. H. Meier, man. ed., 1729 Amherst st.
- **The Buffalo Leader*. The People's Paper. Nov., 1916. Every Saturday, by the Leader Pub. Co., 628 Ellicott Sq. G. J. Wayne, bus. man. Short-lived.
- **The Ledger*. 1845. Weekly, Edwin A. Rathbun, editor and printer. Curious early juvenile amateur paper; size of form 4 x 3½ inches.
- **The Longshoreman*. Founded at Erie, Pa., 1910 [?]. Removed to Buffalo, March, 1918. (vol. viii, No. 17.) Monthly, by the International Longshoremen's Assn. T. V. O'Connor, ed., 702 Brisbane Bldg. Printed at the *Catholic Union* office.
- **The Buffalo Magazine of Arts*. Nov., 1920. Monthly. The art journal of the Niagara Frontier. Carl Lothar Bredemeier, ed. and pub., 56 Bedford ave; printed by the Roycroft Press, East Aurora. 8vo, ill.
- **The Marine Trust News*. 1919. Quarterly, by the Marine Trust Co. of Buffalo. 8vo, ill.
- Nature Calendar*. Oct., 1920. Quarterly, in the interest of the Museum, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, and Hayes School of Natural Science. Public Library Building, and 1231 Elmwood ave (new museum).
- **The Odd Fellows' Bulletin*. April, 1918. Monthly, by the C. R. Smith Press, 319 Hampshire st. Claude R. Smith, editor. Devoted to Odd-Fellowship. 4to, ill. Succeeded Mch., 1920, by *The Bulletin*, q. v.
- **Ourselves*. 1909. Monthly, by the Larkin Co. Pp. 16, 4 cols. to the page, ill. Chas. R. Wiers, editor; Helen A. Rosenstengel, asst. ed.

- **Plymouth News*. Dec. 18, 1920. Weekly, by the Bancroft Bible Class, Plymouth M. E. Church. \$1 per year.
- **School and Community*. Dec. 4, 1919. Semi-monthly, by the Public Education Assn of Buffalo, 706 Niagara Life Bldg. "Devoted to stimulating a well-informed public interest in the educational activities of Buffalo." Frederick E. Shapleigh, ed. and director. Discontinued Oct. 7, 1920.
- **The School Magazine*. Oct., 1918. Monthly "in the interest of closer cooperation in the public schools of Buffalo." Printed for the Department of Public Instruction by the boys of the Elm Vocational School, Buffalo. 8vo, ill.
- **Telegram*. (Polish, daily and Sunday). Oct. 1, 1920, succeeding *Polak w Ameryce* (*Polish Daily News*.) Published by the Buffalo Telegram, Inc., 935 Broadway.
- The Teller*. May 11, 1918. Monthly, by the Bank of Buffalo Club. Thos. H. Work, editor.
- **Trust Company Service*. July, 1917. Monthly, by the City Trust Co., Erie Co. Savings Bank Bldg. 8vo, pp. 8 and cover.
- **University of Buffalo Studies*. Sept., 1919. Quarterly or occasional. Published under direction of the committee on Publications, College of Arts and Sciences. 8vo.
- **The Western New York Pythian*. Jan., 1919. Published under auspices of the Past Chancellors' Ass'n of Western New York. Monthly.
- **The Whirlwind*. Sept., 1919. Fortnightly by Eighth Grade pupils of Public School 53. 4to.

OLD BUILDINGS THAT ARE GONE.—We continue our pictorial record of notable Buffalo buildings that have disappeared, with a few views of notable scenes, especially those of Lafayette Square in various transitory phases of war-time activities. The object in publishing Buffalo views of this character is to make an historical pictorial record of the aspect of the city as it changes from year to year. The general pictorial record contained in our "Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo" has been continued in several subsequent volumes.

Lafayette Square had a varied aspect during the Great War. It was used for various recruiting stations; a tent was pitched there for the sale of war-savings stamps; and many patriotic gatherings were held there, notably the Victory Loan meeting of May 2, 1917, which we picture.

The old Buffalo Savings Bank building, at Broadway and

Washington streets, was torn down in November, 1920, to be succeeded by a modern business structure. It was erected in 1865-'6 and from 1867 to 1901 was the home of the Buffalo Savings Bank. For many years—1868 to 1892—the second floor was occupied by the Grosvenor Library, which moved out on the completion of its present building at Franklin and Edward streets. The bank building was of brown sandstone, in general character resembling the buildings of the Western Savings Bank and the Liberty Bank building, the last-named originally built for the Erie County Savings Bank. These three handsome structures for a good many years gave a pleasing and creditable architectural character to the vicinity of Lafayette Square, upon which they looked. As our picture shows, the vanished building originally had a balustraded approach to an entrance on the Broadway side, leading upstairs to the Library. This feature disappeared after the bank moved out, when the whole building was remodeled for theater purposes.

The former home of the late William H. Gratwick, west side of Delaware above Summer, was torn down in 1919. It was a costly, handsome and quite modern mansion. No new structure replaces it, the site being added to the grounds of the Good-year and Clement properties, adjoining.

Of an earlier period was the still fine house formerly the home of Gibson T. Williams, at Main and Barker streets, in recent years the home of his daughter, Miss Martha T. Williams, who specified in her will that no other family was ever to live in the old home. The large and valuable lot where the house stood extends from Main street to Linwood avenue.

The handsome home of Mr. Carl A. Lautz on West Ferry street was torn down, 1919, to be replaced by a more modern structure. The building of the Knights of the Maccabees at 1271 Main street, near Northampton, which, with its fine pillared portico was for some years a pleasing prospect in that vicinity, now given over to automobile sales-rooms, was torn down in 1919, the fraternal association moving to ampler quarters on Delaware avenue.

The construction of a theater at the northwest corner of Washington and Mohawk streets brought about the demolition of several old buildings, none of them notable, but more or less typical of an earlier Buffalo.

Carnival Court, bounded by Main, Jefferson and East Delavan

streets, after an existence of several years, with the usual ups and downs of an amusement enterprise, finally went out of business and the grounds were wrecked and stripped in the fall of 1920. Our picture shows a portion of the Main street front and entrance.

A genuine landmark disappeared in 1920 by the demolition of the old Niagara Square Baptist Church, built 1848. In 1881 it was sold to the First Congregational Society, which used it until 1897, when it became known as the People's Church. That organization abandoned it in 1910, since which time it stood unused until torn down. It was a red brick structure with two low towers. Our picture shows it as it appeared for many years. At the right, on the Delaware avenue corner, is seen the Sizer residence, since transformed into an office building.

A FAMOUS OLD LAW OFFICE.—Few buildings in Buffalo have been more vitally associated with its history than the structure which stood for many years on the south side of Erie street between Main and Pearl. When erected, in 1856, it was No. 8 Erie street, but in recent years its entrance was No. 28. It was built for the law firm of Rogers & Bowen, which had evolved from the historic firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven, one of whose members became President of the United States, another Postmaster General, and the third, Solomon G. Haven, became Mayor of Buffalo and was three times elected Member of Congress. This famous law firm had its offices in Spaulding's Exchange, still standing south of the Terrace. Dennis Bowen in 1842 had formed a partnership with Nathan K. Hall, their offices in 1845 being at No. 123 Main street. Later Mr. Bowen formed a partnership with Henry W. Rogers, bought the Erie street property and on the completion of the building which we picture, the firm of Rogers & Bowen established themselves there. It is interesting to recall that the senior member of the older firm, Mr. Fillmore, was the first president of the Buffalo Historical Society; and the senior member of the later firm (Rogers & Bowen) was its second president. From the foundation of the Historical Society to the present day, that old law-firm, through its many changes, has shared in its membership; and today five members of the firm are on the list of the Historical Society, as have been most of the men formerly in the law firm.

Some of the changes in the personnel of the firm are here noted. Grover Cleveland had entered the office of Rogers &

Bowen, as student, in 1855, and helped to move the office furniture to the Erie street quarters. Later he became managing clerk, succeeding John Girard Johnson, and being followed in turn by Franklin D. Locke, now senior member of the firm. The list of those who have been students and clerks with the firm is a long one; it includes the late Manley C. Green, Charles B. Wheeler and Wesley C. Dudley, who became Justices of the Supreme Court; Lyman K. Bass, United States District Attorney; Charles P. Norton, for many years Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, and many others.

Soon after removal to the Erie-street building, Mr. Rogers' nephew, Sherman S. Rogers, was admitted to the firm, which became Rogers, Bowen & Rogers. In 1860 S. S. Rogers withdrew and the firm was again Rogers & Bowen. In 1864 Henry W. Rogers went out and S. S. Rogers came in again, the style then becoming Bowen & Rogers. In 1868 Mr. Franklin D. Locke became a member. Mr. Bowen died in 1877, but the firm name of Bowen, Rogers & Locke was continued until about 1883, when on admission of Mr. John G. Milburn, the style became Rogers, Locke & Milburn. The Hon. S. S. Rogers died in 1900, but the firm name was unchanged until 1904, when Mr. Milburn removed to New York, and Messrs. Louis L. Babcock, Albert E. Jones, Edward McMaster Mills and Evan Hollister became members of the firm, under the name of Rogers, Locke & Babcock. Charles B. Sears, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, became associated with the firm about 1910. With the admission of Mr. Maurice Spratt the style again changed to Locke, Babcock, Spratt & Hollister.

In May, 1913, the firm moved to new offices in the Fidelity building, and later the old building was torn down. It was an exceptionally well built brick structure, three stories above a basement and area-way. The upper floor, being provided with skylights, was occupied in the earlier years by several local artists. Thomas Le Clear, Lars G. Sellstedt and Alfred Willgus had their studios there. A feature of the interior was a narrow tortuous stair leading up to the library on the second floor. The firm was conservative in its tastes, and was satisfied with old-fashioned fireplaces, old furniture and fittings. This character, in a way so un-American, especially pleased Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, on the occasion of his memorable visit to Buffalo in 1883.

GIFTS TO THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF THE BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1918-1920.

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- ADAMS, GILMER SPEED, Louisville, Ky. Lincoln photo, from last portrait painted of him; painting made two weeks before Lincoln's death; owned by Gilmer Speed Adams. Painted by Matthew Wilson (1814-1892) for Joshua F. Speed. Also, papers and pamphlets.
- ADAMS, W. W., Union Springs, N. Y. Ill. list of articles found in Indian grave, Cayuga, N. Y., by W. W. Adams, May 2, 1888.
- ALWARD, (Mrs.) CHAS. F., 446 Potomac ave. One of two Corinthian pillars originally on either side of the pulpit of the 1st Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, built 1827.
- ANDREWS, J. W., 286 Parker ave. N. Y. Legislative Red Books, 1918-'19-'20.
- ARMBRUSTER, RUD. A., Buffalo. Pocket atlas and guide to Buffalo; map, New Poland (1920).
- AVERY, SAMUEL P., Hartford, Conn. "The Avery, Fairchild and Park families," 1 vol., Hartford, 1919.
- BALCH, THOMAS WILLING, Philadelphia. "A world court in the light of the U. S. Supreme Court." 1 vol.
- BALL, SARAH B., Detroit. Maps.
- BAME, (Miss) N. J., 225 Allen st. Misc. books.
- BANK OF THE MANHATTAN Co., N. Y. City. "A collection of more than 400 autographs of leading citizens of N. Y. at the close of the 18th Century." 1 vol. folio.
- BARNETT, GEO. J., 123 Waverly st. The Buffalo *Evening News*, 1901-1911.
- BARNETT, J. DAVIS, Stratford, Ont. Pamphlets.
- BARTLETT, (Dr.) G. HUNTER, 1083 Delaware ave. Souvenirs of the Civil War, pictures, lantern slides, misc. papers.
- BARTON, F. H., 1200 Main st. Specimens of U. S. fractional currency.
- BATCHELDER, (Mrs.) J. A., 345 Fargo ave. Framed engraving, "Lincoln and Family"; misc. books.
- BEAN, F. A., Ft. Wayne, Ind. Civil War souvenirs of Capt. Wm. H. S. Bean, 109th Regt., N. Y. Vol. Inf., including his uniform as Zouave, insignia, records, etc.
- BERTRAND, M. W., 86 St. James Pl. Pamphlet.

- BIDWELL, (Mrs.) EMMA CRARY, 48 Bidwell Pk'y. Gen. D. D. Bidwell's commissions as 2d lieut., capt., brigade major, colonel, brigadier general; and other docs.
- BIDWELL, FREDERICK D., Albany. "Bidwells in the World War," 1 vol.
- BLEISTEIN, (Mrs.) GEO. Mexican hat, embroidered with silver and gold, formerly worn by one of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Co.
- BOYNTON, (Rev.) R. W., 105 Norwood ave. Simms' "History of Schoharie Co," 1 vol.
- BRAUER, JOHN, 801 Amherst st. Old newspaper, The *Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser*, Aug. 29, 1774, and other issues.
- BIGGS, (Dr.) A. H., Elma, Misc. books, bulletins, etc., relating to the Selective Service system.
- BROWN, HAROLD C., 605 Linwood ave. Articles from E. Africa; photographs of American Indians, views from Egypt, ancient Rome, etc.; misc. books.
- BRYAN WM. G., 23 North st. Framed photo Buffalo *Evening Post* building, about 1875.
- BUCK, (Miss) HARRIET M., 513 Franklin st. Framed portrait, Roswell R. Buck.
- BUCKENHAM, J. E. B., Philadelphia. Pamphlets, reports, etc., of the Penna. Soc. War of 1812.
- BUFFALO POTTERY, by L. H. Bown, Supt. Collection of Blue Willow, Deldare and other wares made at the Buffalo Pottery.
- BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY, by Walter L. Brown, Mbrn. Maps, books, annual reports, etc.
- BUREAU OF RAILWAY ECONOMICS, Washington. Pamphlets and ry repts.
- CALDWELL, (Mrs.) STEPHEN D., New York City. Goldheaded cane made from wood of Perry's flagship *Lawrence*, given to Stephen D. Caldwell (former mgr. of Union Steamship Co., and Western Transit Co.) by L. L. Hyde.
- CARR, JOHN W., Detroit. Facsimile bill of lading, July 14, 1796.
- CATHOLIC UNION & TIMES, Buffalo. Vol. XLVI, bound.
- CAUDELL, WM. M., 397 W. Utica St. Model of Lehigh Valley bridge over Seneca st., made by Wm. M. Caudell. Model of ship *Buffalo*, made 1856 by Richard Caudell.
- CHALMERS, WM. J., Chicago. Stone's "Life of Brant," 2 vols, Buffalo 1851.
- CHANDLER, (Miss) ELLEN M., 731 Elmwood ave. Toy book; articles from the Hiram T. Greene estate.

- CHENEY, (*Hon.*) WM. A., Los Angeles. Books.
- CHILCOTT, (*Mrs.*) L. M., Orchard Park. Periodicals.
- CHOATE, (*Mrs.*) MARY E., 15 Bidwell Pky. Old steel engravings; early view Ft. Porter.
- CHRISTEY, (*Miss*) ELLA G., College st. Souvenirs of Spanish-Am. War; Spanish War medal of Capt. Arthur Bryant Christey.
- CLARK, (*Dr.*) E. A. D., 2300 Main st. L. s. Lafayette, July 2, 1832, and other docs.
- CLEMENT, J. W. Co., Buffalo. Buffalo City Directories.
- CLINTON, GEO. (Jr.), 9 Clarendon Pl., as trustee Robt. C. Titus estate. Titus genealogical papers, scrap-books.
- COLLINS, (*Mrs.*) W. H., 1200 Delaware ave. Misc. books.
- CONLEE, (*Mrs.*) HATTIE L., Amsterdam, N. Y. English periodical, *The Ancestor*.
- CONWAY, WM. F., 148 W. Ferry st. War literature.
- CORMICAN, (*Rev.*) P. J., Canisius College. Historical picture, Morgan monument, Batavia.
- COTTIER, (*Miss*) M. ELIZABETH, 55 Richmond ave. Photos and souvenirs.
- CRAFTS, JOHN W., for E. B. D. Riley estate. Books and papers.
- CRANDALL, (*Dr.*) FRANK A., 6 Elam Pl. Early English microscope, apparently made in reign of George III.
- CRAWFORD, JAS. A., 31 Brantford pl. Books.
- CULLEN, (*Lt.*) SIMON, Buffalo Police Dept. Book.
- CURTIS PUB. Co., Phila. Books.
- DAVIE, J. H., Erie, Pa. Bible of 1599, specially bound, presented as a memorial to the late Wm. G. Bancroft.
- DEARING, CHAS. J., 145 Park st. Photos, records, etc., Buffalo Metzger-Verein; views, old St. Louis R. C. Church.
- DECKER, (*Mrs.*) ARTHUR W., 115 Park st. Antique carved wooden implement, given by Red Jacket to Mrs. Decker's father, William B. Hart.
- DECKER, GEO. P. Rochester. Pamphlets.
- DELLENBAUGH, F. S., Cragmoor. Civil War souvenirs.
- DEPEW, (*Hon.*) CHAUNCEY M., New York. "Speeches and literary contributions at four score and four," 1 vol.
- DILKS, (*Mrs.*) H. R., 238 Elmwood ave. Books.
- DUNN, (*Mrs.*) MARY E., 496 W. Ferry st. Books.
- DUNSTON, F. J., 832 White Bldg. Portrait, Harlow French, and Fire Dept. souvenirs.
- DURANT, WM. J., N. Y. City. Books.

- ELDER, (Mrs.) FRANK S., 700 Lafayette ave. Misc. books.
- ELLIS, FENWICK L., 763 Bird ave. Souvenirs from the Conqueror oak, cut down at Windsor, Eng., by Canadian soldiers, 1917, by order of the King.
- EMERSON, GEO. D., 87 Whitney Pl. Misc. books.
- EVANS, (Miss), E. A., 2342 Fillmore ave. Medals and badges; also ms book.
- EXPRESS, Publisher of. *The Express*, bound, 1918, '19, '20.
- FILKINS, (Mrs.) C. C., 76 Johnson Park. Book.
- FLEMING, EDWIN, 363 Delaware ave. Original drawing Pan-American emblem designed by Raphael Beck.
- FORTY-FOURTH N. Y. Vol. Inf. Assn. Books.
- FOSTER, JAS. F., Republic Metalware Co. Pamphlet.
- FOSTER, (Mrs.) WM. E., 431 Delaware ave. Doll owned when she was a child by the first wife of Millard Fillmore, married 1826.
- FOWLER, (Mrs.) R. S., 109 Baynes st. Section of redwood bark, Indian and Chinese relics and souvenirs.
- FRAUSTINO, ANTHONY V. N., 492 Swan st. Silk U. S. flag, gold fringed, made by German women in Linkenbach, Ger., in 1919, at the direction of Private Fraustino of the 125th Inf., A. E. F.
- FRONCZAK, (Dr.) FRANCIS E., 806 Fillmore ave. Various pubs. and souvenirs relating to the World War.
- GALLOWAY, (Mrs.) ELLA DUBOIS, Oswego. Wreaths and other forms of hair and feather work made by donor when a young girl.
- GALPIN, WM. A., 735 W. Delavan ave. Numerous additions to the Galpin collections of historical engravings, antiques, etc.
- GARDNER, (Dr.) MIRIAM, Castile. Books and pictures.
- GENERAL RY. SIGNAL Co., Rochester. Two 9.2" British howitzer shells, made by donor.
- GLENNY, (Mrs) JOHN C., Hove, Eng. Oil portrait Jas. N. Johnston, painted by donor.
- GOODYEAR, (Mrs.) C. W., 888 Delaware ave. Book.
- GORHAM Mfg. Co., N. Y. City. Medal commemorating entrance of U. S. in the World War.
- GOWDY, (Mrs.) MASON B., Kansas City, Mo. Framed portrait, Gen. Mason Brayman.
- GRAHAM, LLOYD S., 103 Warren ave. Complete file *Trench and Camp*, Aug. 1-Dec. 26, 1918.
- GRAM, EDWARD, 351 Lafayette ave. *N. Y. Com. Advertiser*, bound, 1831-'32.

- GREENE, (Dr.) DEWITT C., The Touraine. Numerous articles collected by his father, Dr. Jos. C. Greene, in a tour around the world.
- GREENE, (Maj.-Gen.) FRANCIS VINTON, N. Y. City. To be added to the Greene collection, Historical Soc. library, 579 vols; also, his dress uniform as major-gen. of vols, U. S. A., in Spanish-Am. War.
- HACKENHEIMER, JACOB, 676 Lafayette ave. Mounted bison head.
- HAINER, (Mrs.) B., 219 East st. Gun carried in Civil War by her father, John Fisher, of Co. A, 113th N. Y. V.
- HAMLIN, CHAUNCEY J., Snyder. Ms. vol., "Firing record, Battery C., 106th Field Artillery."
- HAMPTON, CHAS. M., 116 Congress st. Map N. Y. State, 1850.
- HARRIS, SAM'L J., Ellicott Sq. Collection, posters, etc., drive for Univ. Buffalo fund.
- HATCH, ERNEST G., 51 Windsor ave. Singalese palm-leaf book, containing part of the Ramayana, a sacred poem.
- HAUSLE, LEO J., 816 Elm st. Star bicycle.
- HAWLEY, EDWARD S., 420 Delaware ave. Maps, Niagara river and falls, 1836.
- HAYDEN, (Rev.) CHAS. A., Springfield, Ill. Sword of Peter Hayden, Quincy, Mass., a mounted dragoon, Mass. militia, in War of 1812. Quantity genealogical data.
- HEALD, (Hon.) CHAS. M., Grand Rapids, Mich. Model of early lake schooner, made by Frank Gilbert.
- HEISS, (Mrs.) FRANCES, Williamsville. Old English glazed ware; silk wove bag.
- HELD, FRANK, 200 S. Elmwood ave. Bound files *Der Weltbürger*, *Der Freimüthige*, and *Buffalo Demokrat*.
- HICKS, (Hon.) FREDERICK C., Port Washington. Pamphlet.
- HILL, (Hon.) HENRY W., 471 Linwood ave. Books and pamphlets.
- HILL, RICHMOND C., Olean. Ms. and printed records, Pan-American Exposition Co., 1897; and scrapbooks, "Buffalo at Atlanta," 1895.
- HILL, WALLACE S., Utica. Bass-drum carried by donor's great-grandfather in War of 1812, and by his father, Wallace Hill of Eden, Erie Co., N. Y., in the Civil War.
- HODGE, DWIGHT W. Set of etchings, California missions. Portrait, Velorous Hodge.
- HOLLOWAY, ALLAN I., 60 Lexington ave. Collection Liberty Loan posters.
- HOLMES, E. B., 59 Chicago st. Old broadsides.

- HORTON, (Mrs.) JOHN MILLER, 477 Delaware ave. Framed portrait of her father, Pascal P. Pratt. Also, "Sketch of life of Samuel F. Pratt," 1 vol.
- HORTON, N. J., Ripley. Address at reunion, 116th Regt. N. Y. Vol. Inf., July 13, 1918.
- HOUGHTON, FREDERICK, 1910 Abbott Road. Books and pamphlets.
- HOWARD, (Dr.) CHAS. F., 88 Lexington ave. Old-time folding boot-jack with pulls.
- HOWE, JOHN W., 310 Bird ave. Collection autographs.
- HOWLAND, HENRY R., 217 Summer st. Early map, Niagara river, and plan, "Gen. Porter's proposed harbor."
- JACKMAN, (Mrs.) KATHARINE SEARS, Delevan. Papers, etc., of the Hosmer family.
- JARRAD, (Mrs.) EDWARD T., 357 N. Division st. Flax wheel and shuttle.
- JEFFERSON, (Mrs.) THOS. M., 18 California st. Ms. sketch and msc. data relating to Ingleside Home.
- JEWETT, (Gen.) EDGAR B., 148 Morris ave. Six scrap-books, covering Buffalo City affairs during his term as Mayor, 1895-'97.
- JOHNSON, WM. H., 48 Oxford ave. Books.
- KAHLE, (Mrs.) LOUISE LEWIS, 29 Irving Pl. President Fillmore's carriage. Later owned and used by donor's father, Hon. Loran L. Lewis.
- KIMBALL, HENRY AMES, Concord, N. H. Books.
- KOERNER, HERMAN T., Grand Island. Books, maps, music.
- LAFAYETTE HIGH SCHOOL. The *Oracle*, 1915-'19.
- LAMB, FRANK B., Westfield. Pamphlet.
- LAMY, (Mrs.) GEORGE H., 796 Ellicott st. A. 1. Horace Greeley, 1863.
- LANEY, JOHN I., 208 Washington st. Book.
- LEAGUE (The) OF KNOWLEDGE, by Col. Wm. J. Donovan, 44 Builders' Exchange. The Catholic Encyclopaedia, 16 vols.
- LETCHWORTH, WM. C., 98 Anderson Pl. Books.
- LEWIS, (Dr.) GEO. M., Amherst st. Old Dutch foot-warmer and other articles.
- MC EWEN, B. H. Marine Trust Co. *Niagara Courier*, Aug. 12, 1841.
- MAC NAUGHTON, (Mrs.) W. F., 27 Elmview ave. Papers, Civil War souvenirs.
- MANCHESTER, (Miss) GRACE, 82 N. Pearl st. Schwabian woman's festal head-dress; child's uniform, style of American Revolution, worn at costume ball, St. James Hall, about 1860. M. St. Ody, dancing master.

- MANN, ELBERT B., 339 Elmwood ave. Replica, the *Lusitania* medal.
- MARVIN, (Miss) CORNELIA L., 1081 Elmwood ave. Framed portrait Eurotas Marvin.
- MATTHEWS-NORTHROP Co., Buffalo. "Aircraft Year-Book," 1919.
- MATZINGER, (Dr.) HERMAN G., 90 Soldiers Pl. Brace of double Derringers, Elliot's patent, 1865. Pamphlet: "Prevention of mental defect."
- MEISCIO, TONY, Dante Place. Mexican silver dollar, 1829.
- MENGE, EDWARD R., 32 Fargo ave. Old-time photographs of Buffalo; old business signs.
- MENSCH, (Mrs.) CHAS. F., 125 Glenwood ave. Old pewter, books.
- MICHAEL, ISADORE, 625 Delaware ave. Inkstand, said to have been used by Washington and Lafayette, at home of Gen. Dey, Breakness, N. J.
- MILSOM, (Miss) GRACE, Angola. Carriage owned by Ebenezer Johnson, first Mayor of Buffalo, 1832.
- MOELLER, (Maj.) E. H., Washington. Revolutionary shot found at Governor's Island.
- MORENEY, CHARLES, 271 W. Delavan ave. Old coins.
- MORROW, HUGH, 15 Dakota st. Old Connecticut clock.
- MULLIGAN, (Mrs.) ELIZABETH H., Auburn, Cal. A. I. S. John Haddock to his brother, dated "Buffalo, Jan. 7, 1815," describing the burning of Buffalo.
- MYER, A. J., Pemaquid, Me. Steel portrait, Gen. A. J. Myer, U. S. A.
- MYERS POST, G. A. R., Buffalo, by Wm. E. Hickey. State flag (silk), altar flag (bunting), silk guidons inscribed, given to the Post by Albert J. Myer, son of Gen. Myer, for whom the Post was named. Also, the Post gavel.
- NASH, (Rev.) J. EDWARD, 64 Walnut st. Pamphlets.
- NEARY, JOHN S., Trenton, N. J. Lantern slides of Pan-American Exposition.
- NEWELL, E. J., 699 Lafayette ave. Book.
- NEWMAN, (Rev.) GEO. N., 85 Parkdale ave. Books.
- NEW YORK CENTRAL R. R., Passenger Dept. Framed painting, "Flight of the Fast Mail."
- NEW YORK STATE BRIDGE & TERMINAL COMMISSION, N. Y. City. Reports.
- NIEMAN, EDWARD, 19 Grace st. Souvenirs of North German Lloyd ss. *Eitel Freidrick*.
- NOBLE, HENRY HARMON, Essex. Books.

- NOBLE, (*Miss*) MINNIE J., 131 Allen st. Old documents.
- NORTH, CHAS. J., 51 Johnson Park. Books, leaflets, atlases.
- NORTH, (*Mrs.*) CHAS. J., 51 Johnson Park. Buffalo school paper, the *Gleaner*, 1850.
- NORTON, CHAS. P., 401 Delaware ave. Maps, village of Black Rock, 1806, 1807. Five scrap-books, University of Buffalo, 1905-1916.
- OISHEI, A. J., Jr., 220 Jefferson st. Collection post-cards of Hudson-Fulton celebration; Perry centenary; and other souvenirs.
- ONE HUNDREDTH REGT. Veterans Assn, Buffalo. Civil War journals, commissions, etc., of Capt. Edwin Nichols.
- PACK, CHAS. L., Washington. Book.
- PAPPAS, ANTON, Washington. Book.
- PARK, JULIAN, 25 Niagara Square. A. I. S., Erastus Granger to Maj. Gen. H. Dearborn, commanding Fort George U. C., June 22, 1813.
- PARKE, (*Mrs.*) ROBERTA, 293 Linwood ave. Books and papers.
- PARKER, ARTHUR C., Albany. Mss. and pamphlets on Indian history.
- PARKER, (*Mr. & Mrs.*) PERRY GREENE, through Miss Clara C. Hamacher, executrix for E. L. Parker estate, 44 Goodrich st. Oil portraits, manuscript genealogy.
- PAUL, (*Miss*) ANNA M., 136 N. Pearl st. Books; Phinney's Almanacs, many years.
- PETRIE, (*Mrs.*) S. W., 44 Inwood Pl. Collection Pan-American Exposition photographs.
- POLISH DAILY NEWS Co., 389 Peckham st. Pamphlet.
- PORTER, (*Hon.*) PETER A., 97 Linwood ave. Pictures, mss., relics; genealogical charts; maps of Niagara region; papers of Gen. Peter B. Porter.
- POST, (*Miss*) MARGARET, 753 Amherst st. Woman's dress-skirt worn in Holland, 18th Cent.
- PRATT & LAMBERT, Inc., Tonawanda st. Book.
- PUTNAM, GEO. HAVEN, N. Y. City. Book.
- RATHEBUN, (*Misses*) EMILY AND MARY, Washington. Copies of the *Ledger*, Buffalo, 1845 (juvenile journal.)
- REED, (*Rev.*) H. A., Elma. Book.
- REEVES, (*Miss*) ESTHER, Darien Center. Sewing machine bought in Buffalo, 1862. Misc. articles, books and pictures.
- RENNER, (*Mrs.*) PAULINE, 112 Wex ave. Anti-slavery token, 1838. Old-time dentist's instruments.
- RICE, WALTER ALLEN, 594 Grant st. Book.

- RICH, G. BARRETT, 1305 Main st. Military commission with Queen Victoria's signature, 1849.
- RICH, (Mrs.) G. BARRETT, 1305 Main st. Book.
- RICHARDSON, A. C., Williamsville. Misc. relics of Civil War, Buffalo Bicycle Club; portraits President and Mrs. Cleveland.
- RICHARDSON, R. B., 162 Fargo ave. Early Buffalo advertising cards.
- RIDDELL, (Hon.) WM. RENWICK, Toronto. Book.
- RIESTER, F. J., 42 Ripley pl. Women's wooden slippers, from France.
- ROBBINS, (Miss) J. BESSIE, 751 Ashland ave. Books from library of her late father, E. C. Robbins.
- ROBERTS, FRANK D., Perry. Book.
- ROBERTS, GEORGE T., 63 Jewett Pkwy. Old halberd or battle-ax, apparently French, found Oct. 1918, near crossing of N. Y. C. Ry., Falls branch, at Hertel ave., in clay excavation some 10 ft. below surface. Apparently a relic of the old French war.
- ROSSEEL, (Miss) FANNY T., Bordentown, N. J. Map of Buffalo (rough sketch), 1812.
- RUMMEL, A., 37 Holland pl. Souvenir, Blaine & Logan campaign.
- SACKETT, (Mrs.) JENNIE W., N. Y. City. Oil portraits, Col and Mrs. Niram Sackett of Chautauqua Co.
- SEITZ, (Miss) ANNA, 237 Chester st. Yarn reel.
- SEVERANCE, FRANK H., 150 Jewett Pkwy. Old sewing machine and other articles. Books. Framed photo. American soldiers' cemetery, Romagnes, France.
- SHANAHAN, W. F., 365 Herkimer st. Civil War relics.
- SHAW, (Miss) ISABELLA M., 385 Auburn ave. Antique secretary, formerly owned by Dr. Daniel Rumsey; old blue china; Connecticut clock. 1820; books, and other articles.
- SHEEHAN, (Mrs.) WM. F., Roslyn, L. I. Marble bust, Hon. Wm. F. Sheehan; framed photograph; memorial vol.
- SHEEHAN, ROBERT F., (U. S. N.) boat-flag of U. S. S. *San Diego*, sunk July 19, 1918, off Fire Island Light; brought ashore by Com'dt Sheehan, after several hours in the water.
- SHELDON, (Miss) GRACE, 567 Potomac ave. Misc. relics, portraits, Civil War data.
- SHEPARD, FREDERICK J., 17 Pearl pl. Books, mss.; records, Yale Alumni Assn.
- SHEPARD, (Mrs) F. J., 17 Pearl pl. Album of portraits, Women's Ed. & Indus. Union.

- SHISLER, CHAS. E., Medina. Shot-gun, used by his great-grandfather, Geo. Henry Shisler, Sunbury, Pa., in pioneer days.
- SHUTTLEWORTH, (*Miss*) CLAIRE, 399 Franklin st. A. I. S. Millard Fillmore, Sept. 15, 1856; photos.
- SICKMON, CHAS. W., 337 W. Delavan ave. Books.
- SILVER, DILLWORTH M., 559 West ave. Collection Indian relics; lantern slides; books and maps.
- SISTERS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD, 485 Best st. Book.
- SKEEL, (*Mrs.*) ROSEWELL, Jr., Irvington-on-Hudson. Book.
- SLIWINSKI, (*Miss*) M., 15 Loepere st. Polish flag, made by Buffalo women for the Buffalo Historical Society.
- SMITH, CHAS. (*Jr.*), 41 Hawley st. Relic of Spanish War in Cuba; clasp knife, horn handle.
- STAFFORD, JAMES B., 411 Norwood ave. Five large scrap-books of newspaper record of work of the office of Food Administration for Erie Co., during the World War.
- STONE, RUFUS BARRETT, Bradford, Pa. Book.
- STONE, THOS. R. and NETTIE. Books formerly owned by Rt. Rev. Wm. Murray Stone, 3d Bishop of Maryland.
- STUMPF, GEO. J., 350 Germania st. Key of front door, Bennett mansion, now site of Bennett Park.
- TABER, (*Miss*) SARAH, 246 Bryant st. Souvenirs and historical articles from Jerusalem, India, etc.; Buffalo Fire Dept. and other relics; Civil War portraits and mementos.
- TALBOT, (*Dr.*) ASHTON B., N. Y. City. Framed oil portrait of Mrs. Calista Marie Talbot; also portrait of Mrs. Talbot's mother, Mrs. Maria St. John Fisk, who, with her mother Mrs. Gamaliel St. John, and sisters, saved their house from destruction in the burning of Buffalo by British and Indians, Dec. 30-31, 1813.
- TALBOT, GEO. C., 27 Penfield st. Specimens Continental currency.
- TIFFT, ROBERT H., 196 Linwood ave. American Indian, Russian and Egyptian articles.
- TILLINGHAST, (*Mrs.*) JAMES, 394 Elmwood ave. Books on heraldry, genealogy, Orders of Knighthood, etc., formerly owned by her late husband, James Tillinghast, President of the Buffalo Historical Society 1888. Also, souvenirs from India, the Congo, etc.; Mexican pottery; statuette of Cornelius Vanderbilt.
- TODD, A. M., Kalamazoo, Mich. Sub. *The Nation*.

- TRIBLE, WALTER P., 45 Hodge ave. Mrs. Millard Fillmore's Bible; misc. docs. and mss.
- TRIPP, GEO. A., Chicago. *The Buffalo & Black Rock Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1827.
- UNDERHILL, CHARLES R., N. Y. City. Book.
- WAGNER, ADAM I., 239 Laurel st. Civil War journal of Lt. Edwin Nichols, 100th N. Y. Vols; also, his commissions, photos, etc. in specially-made box.
- WAGNER, MAT. & SON, Chippewa st. Old cigar store sign, Indian girl, made of metal, used many years at 198 Pearl st; framed photo of bldg.
- WALKER, (Mrs.) WM. D., 360 Linwood ave. The Bishop Walker Memorial—a museum case containing many articles associated with the life and work of Bishop Walker. Also, books.
- WALKER, (Mrs.) WM. D., estate of. Oil portrait, Rt. Rev. William D. Walker.
- WALKER, WM. H., 59 Berkeley pl. *Buffalo Commercial*, 1845-'46.
- WARREN, (Mrs.) EDWARD S., 20 Lincoln pkwy. Misc. articles, books.
- WARREN, WM. Y., 271 Porter ave. Book, geographic globe.
- WATSON, HENRY M., 573 Auburn ave. Pendulum and weight from tower clock of the old 1st Pres. church. Framed photo of church.
- WELD, LEWIS H., Medina. Old-time household and farm articles and tools.
- WESTERN SAVINGS BANK of Buffalo. Old lease, made by the Bank to the Buffalo Historical Soc'y, 1873.
- WHITE, (Miss) ISABELLA, Fredonia. Cot bed formerly used by Ebenezer Johnson, first Mayor of Buffalo.
- WILCOX, ANSLEY, 641 Delaware ave. Pamphlet.
- WILGUS, LEONARD W., 1 Windsor ave. Early Western N. Y. papers. Collection, relics of the World War, on deposit.
- WILKINS, (Mrs.) J. B., Pottsdam. Programme of entertainment, 1772.
- WILLIAMS, (Dr.) HERBERT U., 40 Irving pl. Old-time advertising cards.
- WILSON, R. J., Geneseo. Grain cradle, wooden barley-fork, used in 1835.
- WITMER, C. F., Williamsville. Newspaper, Greeley's *Log Cabin*, Sept. 26, 1840.
- WOODWARD, (Hon.) JOHN, 138 Bryant st. Book.
- WOODWORTH, (Rev.) CHAS. E., 332 Potomac ave. Book.

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Haven, Conn. Books.

YEIGH, FRANK, Toronto. Book.

YOUNG, WM. D., 1032 Niagara st. Ms. and printed copies, "History First Church of Evans, N. Y."

ZESCH, FRANK H., 73 Crescent ave. Book.

ZURCHER, (Rev.) GEORGE, North Evans. Books.

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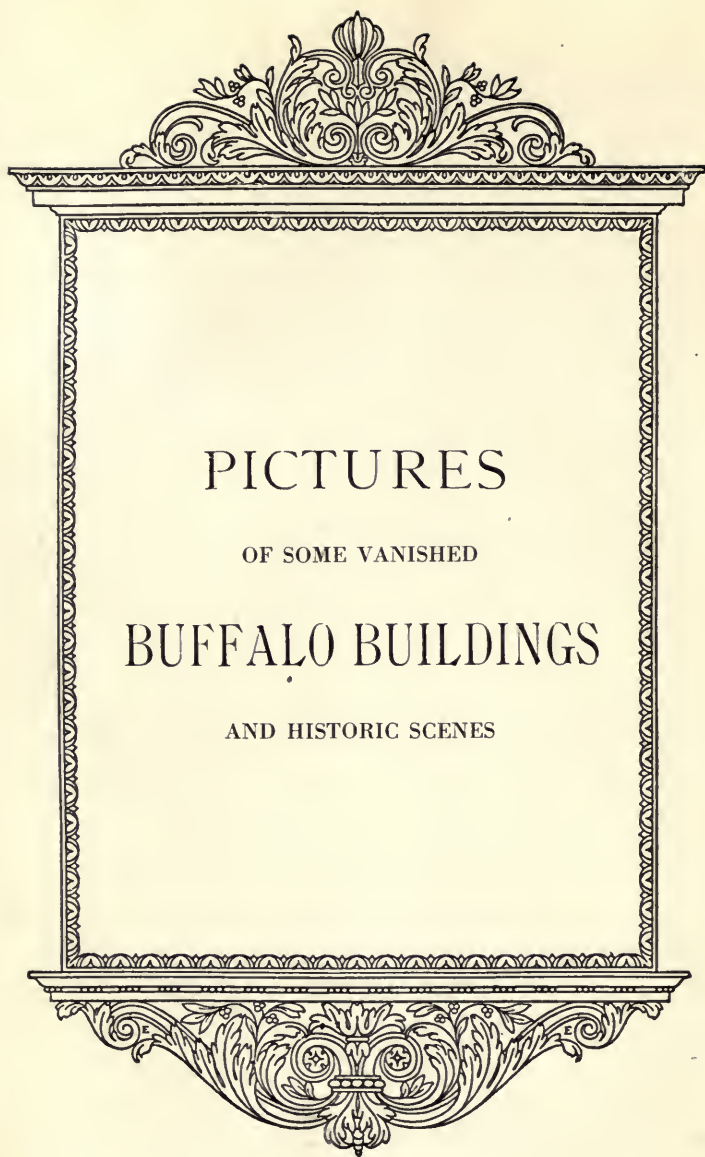
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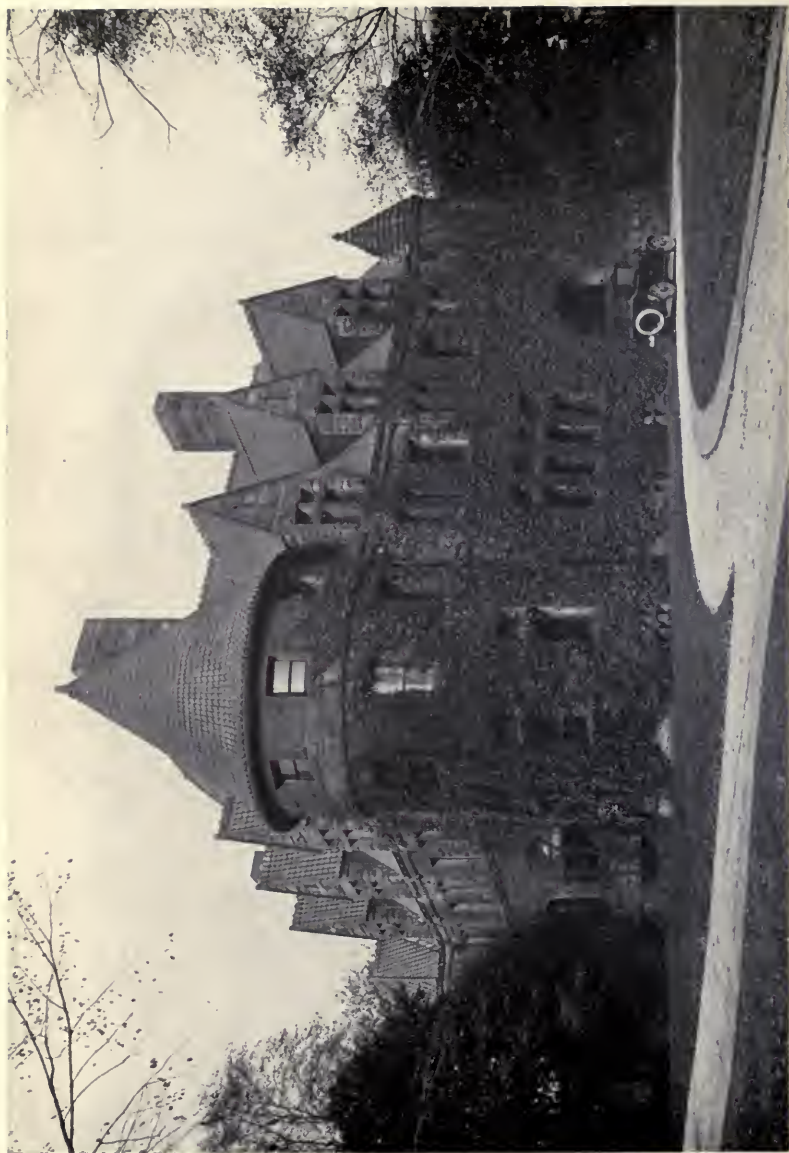
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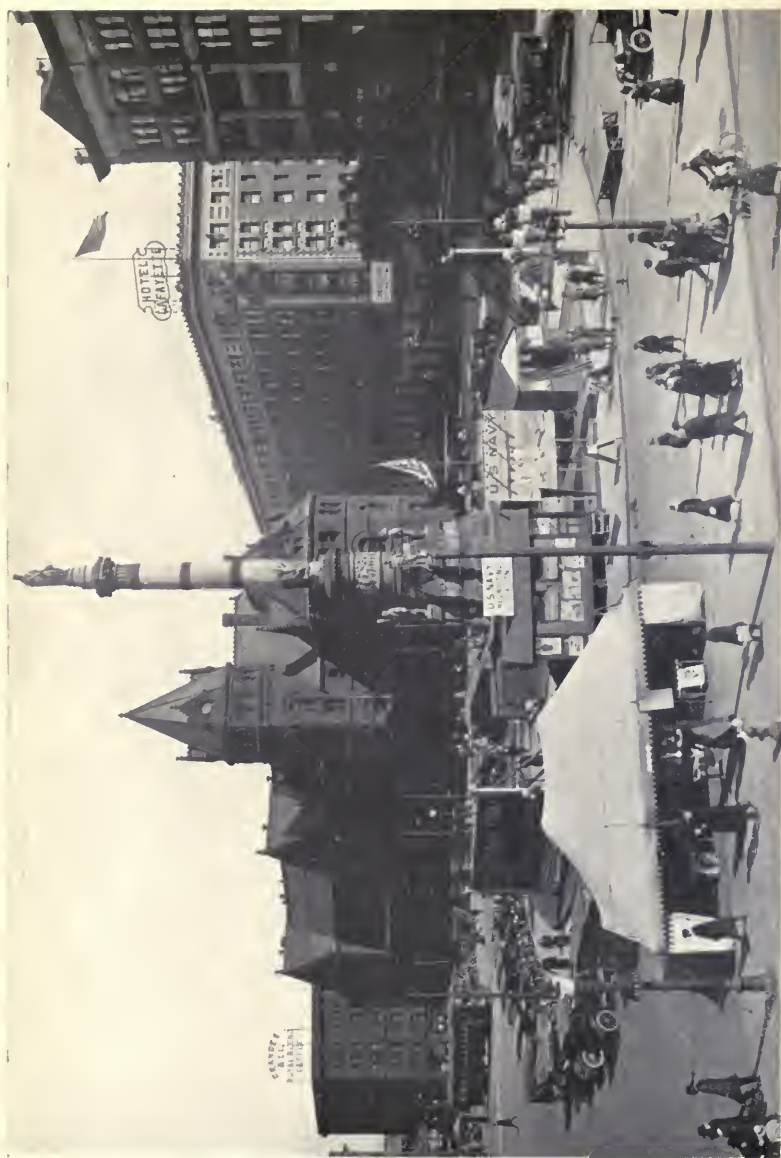
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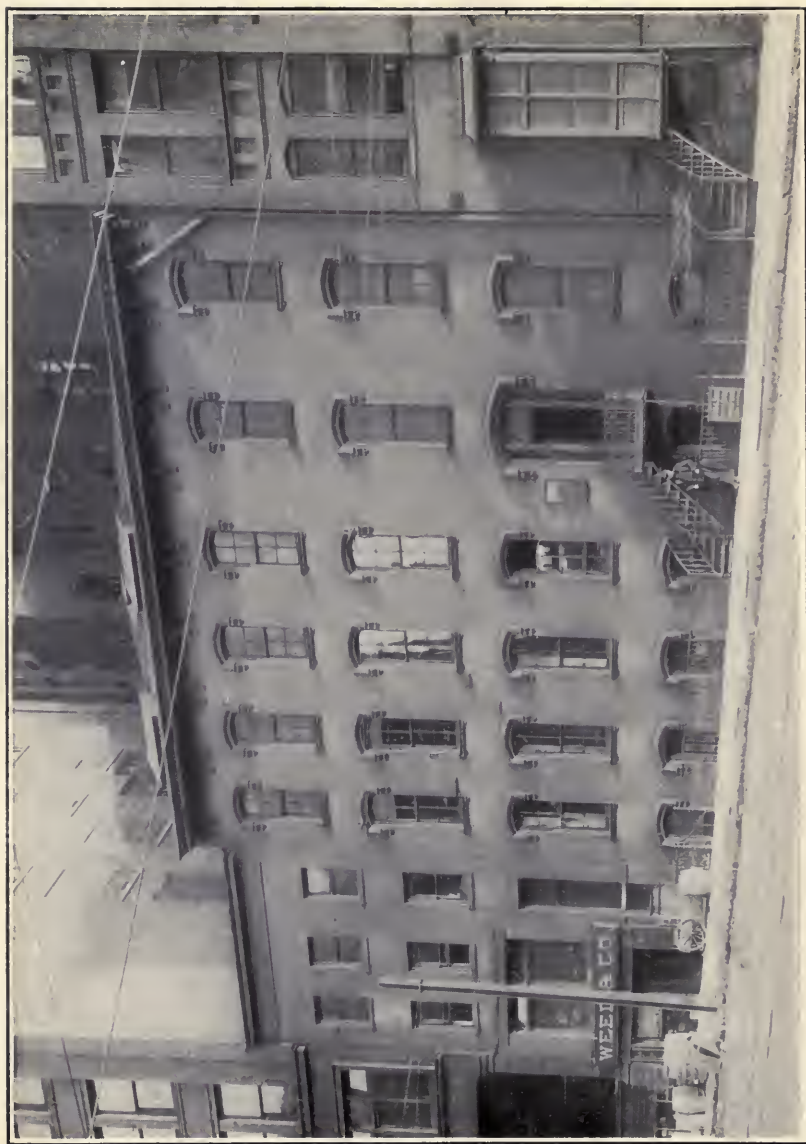
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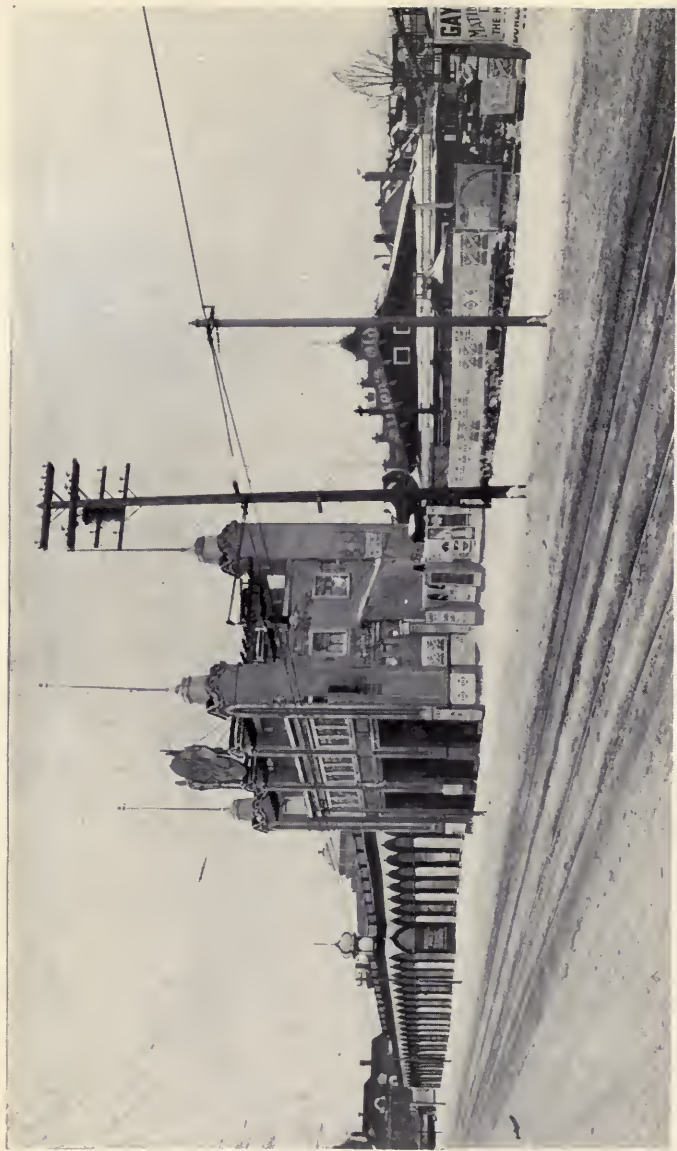
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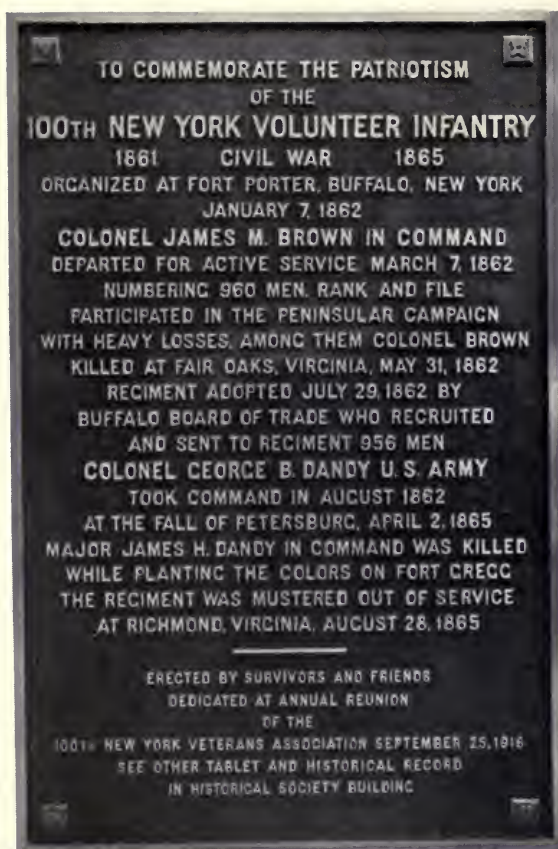


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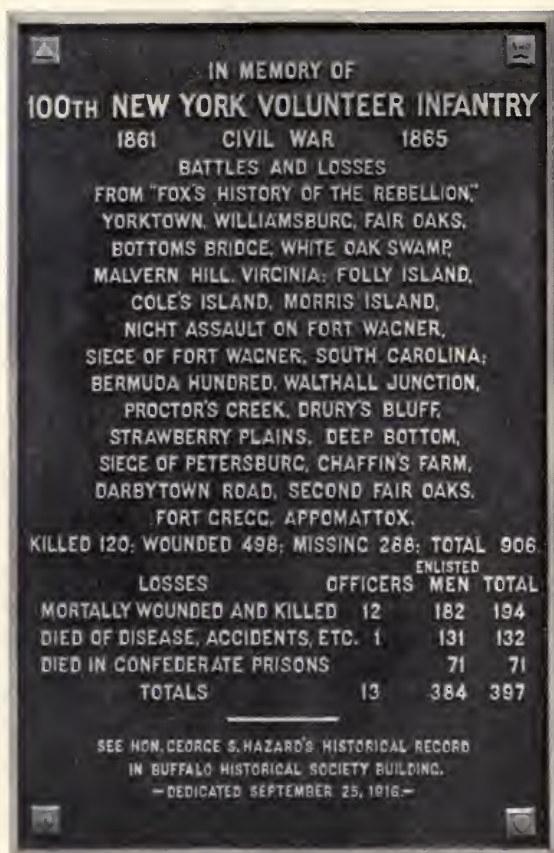


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